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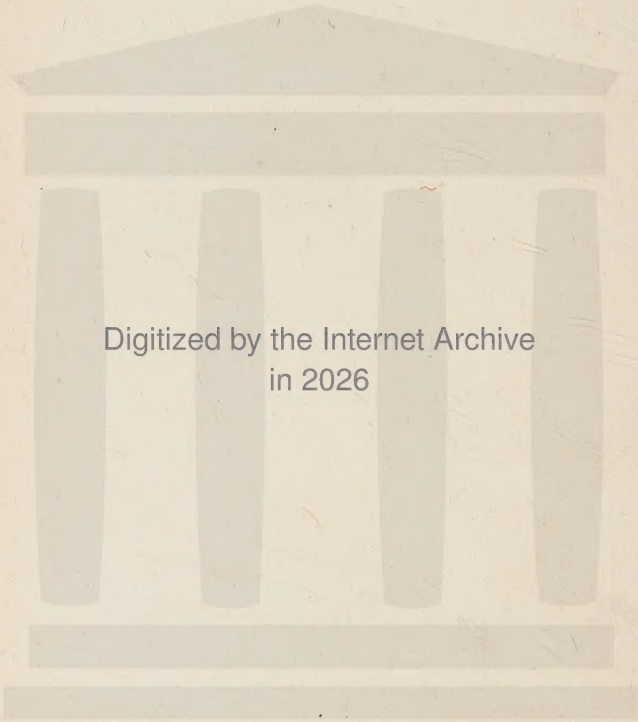
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LXXVIII

TYPICAL ENGLISH CHURCHMEN.

SERIES II.

FROM WYCLIF TO GARDINER.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE.

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I

JOHN WYCLIF

BY

REV. JOHN NEVILLE FIGGIS, LITT.D.

OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

[*Authorities.* The materials for determining the character of Wyclif's system are chiefly to be found in the Latin Works published by the Wyclif Society. Of these the most important are the *De Civili Dominio* and the *De Ecclesia*. These, with two volumes entitled the *Polemical Works*, illustrate sufficiently nearly all his ideas. Most of them, however, are summed up in the *Trialogus*, which was edited in 1869 by Dr. Lechler, Oxford. In Mr. Shirley's edition (Rolls Series) of the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* will be found various interesting documents, which give a bird's-eye view of Lollard polemic. An interesting set of Lollard conclusions has just been published by this Society, edited by Professor Collins. The conclusions of Wyclif (or said to be from him) condemned by the Council of Constance are with Woodford's treatise to be found in Brown's *Fasciculus*. His English writings are mainly in Arnold's *Select Works of John Wyclif* (3 vols., Oxford), Matthew's *Unprinted Writings of John Wyclif* (Oxford). Vaughan's *Tracts and Treatises of John Wyclif*, published for the old Wyclif Society in 1844, contains beside a translation of parts of the *Trialogus*, the famous sermon Wyclif's *Wykket*, and a few other pieces.

For his life the chief authorities are Knighton's *Chronicle*, Walsingham's *Chronicon Angliae*, of which the more complete form is the Chronicon of the Monk of St. Albans, and the *Eulogium Historiarum*, Vol. iii. All of these are in the Rolls Series.

Of modern works Lechler's Life is the most important. For the external history there is the brilliant sketch *The Age of Wyclif*, by Mr. G. M. Trevelyan. On his relation to Hus see Loserth, *Wyclif and Hus*. Mr. Poole's *Wyclif and Movements of Reform* in the 'Epochs of Church History,' together with his chapters in *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought* and article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, are invaluable as an exposition of Wyclif's ideas, in relation to the life and thought of the fourteenth century. The best single account is the exhaustive study by Dr. Rashdall in the *Dictionary of National Biography*—to which the reader is referred for further information on books and other matters. Dr. Rashdall's account of Wyclifism in the *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* should also be consulted. I have only glanced at Mr. Capes's account in the new series of 'English Church Histories,' but it may be safely recommended. There is a brief but very suggestive review of Lechler in the volume of posthumous Essays by Bishop Creighton.]

THE sole merits of this study are that it is based on a first-hand investigation, and that it seeks to take no side, but

merely to determine the place of Wyclif in the historical development of the Christianity of this country, and indeed of Europe. We now know, or may know, the leading ideas of Wyclif in a way which was not possible a generation back. Although some of his works are still unpublished, yet with the possible exceptions of the *De Universalibus*, and the latter portions of the *De Civili Dominio*, it is unlikely that those remaining unprinted would add materially to our knowledge. As a writer Wyclif is as prolific as he is dull. He repeats himself with such amazing frequency that it is easy to get a notion of his system by a comparatively small selection[1]. A person, not quite ignorant of scholastic debates, who should carefully study the *Trialogus*, would (with some exception in regard to the doctrine of lordship) carry away a very fairly comprehensive notion of the *Weltanschauung* of the Doctor Evangelicus.

Nor shall I attempt to narrate in detail the well-known story of Wyclif's life, especially as the inclusion of William of Wykeham and Courtenay in this series will have made the reader familiar with both the general and ecclesiastical history of the fourteenth century. For purposes of convenience, however, it may be well to precede the discussion of the points which seem to me to arise out of the subject by a very brief *résumé* of the outlines of the life of Wyclif.

Born probably about 1320 at Hipswell near Richmond in Yorkshire, John Wyclif studied at Balliol, of which College he was afterwards elected Master between 1356 and 1360. In 1361 he accepted the living of Fillingham, but returned to Oxford in 1363, residing in Queen's[2]. About five years later he was given the living of Ludgershall near Oxford, combining parochial and academic duties. His enemies always recognized his eminence as a scholar and philosopher. He was almost the last whom mediaeval Oxford produced. Knighton, an unsparing critic, tells us that "In philosophia nulli reputaba-

[1] On this ground I can refrain from quoting references, except for some special reason, in this paper. For each of Wyclif's ideas, it would be necessary to refer not to one but to a hundred places.

[2] Knighton, ii. 151.

tur secundus, in scholasticis disciplinis incomparabilis." He proceeded to his D.D. in 1370. Even before this he must have been one of the most influential leaders of Oxford. His power of attracting followers among young men was little inferior to that of the founder of another very different Oxford Movement.

By this time Wyclif had become a person of weight, not merely as a University teacher (although that position was probably less obscure in the fourteenth than in the "enlightened" twentieth century), but as a popular and patriotic politician. We do not know the exact date at which began that influence at court which was to stand him in such good stead. But we know that the papal tribute begun by King John was refused by the English Parliament in 1366. And it is thought that a tract of Wyclif, written in the capacity of *peculiaris clericus regius*, in defence of the national action against the pope, may refer to this. But it seems now more probable that the tract was written in 1376–7, and refers to a later episode of 1374. But at least by this time it is clear that he was regarded in the light of a leader, on what was at once the royal and the popular side of English independence against papal aggression. It is curious, indeed, to find him putting into the mouths of the seven lords of the council, whose speeches on the subject he professes to give, his own highly elaborated subtleties on the subject of civil lordship, i. e. of property and government. It was said by his enemies that this, together with all Wyclif's anti-papal and polemical writings, was really due to his having been ousted from the headship of Canterbury Hall in favour of a regular. That this happened to a John Wyclif is indubitable. But the opinion of the better scholars appears to be that the hero of the transaction was not the reformer but another cleric of the same name. In any case the alleged cause is no more sufficient to account for an attitude characteristic of the whole mental standpoint of a singularly acute and thorough-going thinker, than is the ignorant attribution by shallow persons of all political, social or economic movements which they dislike, to the diabolical ingenuity of interested agitators.

No great movement can ever be due only to pique or self-interest.

However it be with Canterbury Hall, the connexion of Wyclif with popular anti-papalism was not by this time his only offence against ecclesiastical order. He had developed, and in his *De Civili Dominio* published views that were certainly startling even in an age which was more accustomed to the paradoxes of philosophers than we choose to imagine. Their real animus, however, was so directly against the whole hierarchical system, as a legal establishment, that they were certain to procure at once notice and animadversion on the part of that section of clerics, common enough in all days, who realize more clearly than their brethren that the Church on its economic side is a vested interest, and are therefore convinced of the necessity of securing it against attack by claiming for its pecuniary and legal rights a higher than human sanction. Wyclif attacked not only the pope as an alien power but all endowments, and especially the monastic orders. It was long before he attacked the friars or the current doctrine of the Eucharist. In one sense indeed he was popular, as expressing a very general anti-papal feeling—how general this was the statutes of Provisors and Premunire show; but we must not suppose that the bulk of the clergy shared this feeling, and we must bear in mind what is too often forgotten, that the second statute of Provisors was passed in the teeth of episcopal opposition. But still Wyclif, although the Crown had appointed him in 1374 rector of Lutterworth and an ambassador to meet the papal legate on this very question, had become a party man. Nor was it a worthy party to which he belonged. John of Gaunt was the incarnation of all that was worst alike in the aristocracy and the royal house[1]. Wyclif's fame would at this day be higher had he escaped a connexion which may have been innocent enough in origin, but led to one of the least creditable episodes in his life. That Wyclif was present at some

[1] Since this was written Mr. Armitage Smith has done a little to relieve John of Gaunt of the burden of guilt; yet the association of Wyclif with him remains discreditable.

Parliament is undoubted from his own words, but there is no real evidence to connect him with the Good Parliament of 1376—nor is it easy to see what he could have done there. That assembly was, as is well known, abortive in its results. John of Gaunt packed its successor, repealed its acts, released its prisoners, and, in his turn, attacked and imprisoned no less a person than the Chancellor and Bishop of Winchester, William of Wykeham—the representative of all that was best in the secular cleric of the day. At the time it was impossible to attack the duke directly. But the hierarchy, as the monk of St. Albans tells us, resolved on a counter-blow against the duke's favourite. Wyclif was summoned to a council in London in February, 1377. Strangely enough, he was saved from an adverse decision by the unpopularity of his supporter. John of Gaunt and Lord Percy appeared to protect the accused, who was, it is to be noted, accompanied at this his first answer by four mendicant D.D.'s. A dispute between Percy and Bishop Courtenay, as to whether Wyclif was to sit down, led to the interference of the populace on behalf of their bishop. A riot ensued and the council came to nothing.

The pope, Gregory XI, who had just returned to Rome and ended the Babylonish captivity, doubtless instigated by Courtenay, dispatched five Bulls against the teaching which was so subversive of the rights of ecclesiastical property, three to the archbishop—who is complained of as being very slack in offending John of Gaunt, one to the chancellor of the University, and one to the king. Wyclif, however, was at this very time being consulted by Parliament, as to the right of stopping the papal supplies. And it is not surprising that the Princess of Wales, i. e. Richard II's mother, stopped the trial—much of course to the disgust of the anti-Lollard chroniclers for the pusillanimity of the bishop. As a matter of fact the bishop's compliance was assisted by the persuasions of the mob. At any rate, nothing was done except to increase the popularity of Wyclif, both in Oxford and London.

We now enter on the closing period of the reformer's life

and the final stage of his opinions. In 1378 began the Great Schism, and Europe was shocked at the spectacle of two popes excommunicating each other's adherents and striving to excite war all over the continent. Then, in 1383, when Urban VI proclaimed a crusade against his rival, and our own Bishop of Norwich took an inglorious part therein, the last tie that united Wyclif to the existing system was snapped. He now appears as an unsparing adversary of the idea of the Papacy, of the whole ecclesiastical organization, and the principles on which it was based. About this time he set on foot his band of russet-clad poor priests who were to go preaching "Goddis Law" to every hamlet in the land; and at the same date projected and began to execute that translation of the Bible to which, more than to anything he wrote, he owed his popularly enduring fame. He took the final step, and coming to the conclusion that on his own philosophical principles of "realism," the existing doctrine of transubstantiation, or rather the account of it given by the current nominalists, would not hold water, he proceeded to attack it, and to devote the remainder of his life to a vigorous polemic against the friars, whom he now regarded as worse than the monks, partly because they were more hypocritical in their profession of poverty, partly because they were the main supporters of the accepted sacramental doctrine. In 1380 he developed, and in 1381 he publicly maintained his views, which were at once condemned by the Chancellor of Oxford. Wyclif acted consistently with his views of authority in appealing not to any ecclesiastical superior, but to the king.

The outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt at this time brought prejudice to the reformer. John Ball may have been wrong in saying that he had imbibed his communism from Wyclif's writings. But at any rate he said so. It was natural enough for his enemies to make use of the statement. Moreover, in replacing the mild Archbishop Sudbury by the able and bigoted Courtenay, the peasants did more damage than they anticipated to the cause, which was in many respects their own. In 1382 "the Council of the Earthquake" met at Blackfriars. It was interrupted by an earth-

quake, but it condemned Wyclifism, though apparently it did not dare to touch Wyclif.

The scene was now transferred to Oxford. A struggle took place between the University, which was largely Wyclifite, and very tenacious of its independence. After a struggle various holders of Wyclifite views were condemned. But Wyclif himself was never condemned. It has been said that he recanted. But as the so-called recantation is merely a particularly direct restatement of his views, we learn that the statement is untrue. He certainly was summoned to Rome; but he was too ill to attend, as he had been paralysed for some eighteen months before his death. On St. Sylvester's Day, 1384, while he was hearing mass at Lutterworth, he succumbed to the final stroke, and was buried there, only to have his bones dug up and scattered by the impotent posthumous decree of the Council of Constance.

So much for the life, which I have only introduced as a preface to the interesting consideration of Wyclif's place as a thinker, and his right to his reputation. The name and fame of Wyclif are indeed so familiar to us all, that no one now can approach the subject without asking himself certain questions, of which the first is suggested by the title of this series. I give here the answers which the evidence appears to me to warrant. That others, on perusing the same evidence, may come to different conclusions is almost certain. This is not the kind of historical problem on which finality is really possible. Any attempt, however, to answer the questions at secondhand without actual study of Wyclif's writings is of course ridiculous, and answers so obtained are not in any real sense opinions at all. The questions which the thought of Wyclif puts to my mind are these. (1) Was Wyclif a typical English Churchman? (2) Was he as great or as epoch-making as is commonly supposed? (3) Does he rightly belong to the mediaeval or to the modern world? (4) Was he successful? Under these four heads it is possible to arrange nearly all that seems to the writer to be of real interest in the subject, and to state briefly what may be learnt from Wyclif about

both his own day and its problems, and Christianity in general.

I. Broadly speaking, I do not think that we can call Wyclif a typical English Churchman. His complete mastery of the philosophical armoury of the day would alone militate against that. His whole position rests on the basis of realism, as expounded by him. So far from sharing the typical English characteristic of undervaluing thought in general, or treating it as at best a necessary evil, and admitting that within certain narrow limits, reflexion may be a useful corrective of practice, Wyclif appears to have felt that right thinking was at least as important as right living, and at any rate a necessary basis therefore. We may adduce his argument in favour of the contemplative as opposed to the active life, and the statement that Christ's merits are greater on the speculative than the practical side[1]. It is certainly not typically English to demand that the king and Parliament should put to all endowed clergy the question whether accidents can exist without a subject, and in the event of an erroneous answer, deprive them of their livelihood. Nominalism is for him the real enemy, wherever to be found, the source of nearly all superstition in theology, and abuses in practice. It is a main, if not the only ground, of his hostility to the friars. His consistent philosophizing would make him to ordinary English sentiment little better than a doctrinaire. This is the basis, too, of the uncompromising character of his writings. His intellectual intolerance is marked. He writes with the bitterness which is characteristic of highly trained speculative intellects in approaching practical questions. The ordinary man who works by rule of thumb may show a certain obstinacy and imperviousness to ideas which are alien. But this is different from the *acharnement* of men like Wyclif, to whom their conclusions seem bound up with the existence of man as a rational being, so that an opposing view appears not merely pernicious, but no less idiotic than saying that two and two make five. Sir Henry Maine once spoke of the peculiar bitterness of

[1] *De Civili Dominio*, cap. xxiv.

controversies confined to the learned. Wyclif, though he addressed a popular audience in many of his writings, has all the acrimony of the scholar, the philosopher, and the fanatic in one. His want of artistic interest, no less than intellectual sympathy, prevents him—at any rate in later life—from discerning a single merit in the ecclesiastical system which he attacks. His language expresses a very real contempt, both intellectual and moral, for all his adversaries. There seems no reason to doubt Knighton's assertion of the intolerance and abusiveness of the Lollards. Wyclif had to the full the narrowness of sympathy which we associate with Puritanism. There is nothing to relieve the gloom of his picture of the Church. Save for his mordant irony most of his denunciations are lacking in any literary force. Wyclif is indeed poles apart from Hooker, whose sweet reasonableness is the controversial ideal of English Churchmen. He was certainly not one who could "throw himself into the minds of his opponents, and account for their mistakes[1]," as witness his treatment of Cuningham[2]. "Blind Buzzards," "Antichrist's or Satan's clerks," "fiends of hell," "molde werpis ever wrotying in the erthe about erthely muck," are his names for the contemporary clergy. Monasteries are "Dens of thieves and nests of serpents, and homely houses of quick devils[3]." "If the devil is anywhere, he is in these orders." The last few centuries are the time of "the unloosing of Satan." "These sects are in no way to be preferred to Mahomedans." Without denying the great and necessary work, we cannot ignore the defects of his qualities. It is the glory of the English Church that her typical controversial methods are exactly the contrary of those of John Wyclif.

This uncompromising spirit, which on the one hand is

[1] Newman, *The Idea of a University.*—'Character of a gentleman.'

[2] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, Appendix.

[3] This phrase, it is to be noted, does not assert the devil to be nowhere else than in the friars. It should be compared with Newman's famous question as to where we should look for the spirit of Christ, if not in the religious orders. This was misrepresented in all good faith by Kingsley as meaning that Christ was to be found nowhere else. Dr. Abbott elected to repeat the charge.

connected with his strong grasp of certain principles of thought, is at once the cause and the consequence of another un-English trait in the Reformer. He was, in essence, a revolutionary. Not indeed in politics. The attempt to attribute to him any practical socialism seems to me quite unwarrantable. His communism is of a very ideal and purely speculative type[1]; practically, as he says more than once, the division of men into three orders—the secular lords, i. e. the landowning class, the clergy, and the commons as labouring classes, is not merely tolerable, but is divinely ordained. His sympathies are more aristocratic than popular. In politics he was a revolutionary only in the sense in which Thomas Cromwell or Luther was. He believed in the power of the state as divine, and desired to see it triumphant over every form of ecclesiastical privilege. Yet his attitude was essentially revolutionary. There is no trace in him of that spirit of cautious and tentative progress which, we are told, is the basis of English liberty. In the Church, at any rate, he had no desire to see

> freedom slowly broaden down,
> From precedent to precedent

although in one place he indicates a plan for resuming grants in mortmain gradually. But his ideal is a "new Church in a new State." And it has never been reached. He demanded a complete breach with the past. "If there were no popes, no cardinals, no emperor prelates, holy Church should stand well by the order that Christ made[2]." Except in his desire to return to the days of the early Church, he is without historical sentiment. There is no evidence in his writings that it cost him a single pang to break with an order of things which was inwoven with the piety and the culture

[1] The situation contemplated here as in other passages is, it will be seen, impossible even as an object in a world subject to original sin: "If mon had stonden in state of innocense, he schulde not have been thus occupied with richesse, ffor alle thinge schulde have been comyne, as hit is in hevene; and iche mon schulde have had fre use of godes that he wolde. What evydence schulde mon have to be proude nowe in synne, for losse of this fredome and hevynesse of erthe?" *Seven Deadly Sins* (Arnold, iii. 127).

[2] Matthew, 479. *De Papa.*

of centuries. There is little trace in his writings of any reverence or affection towards the mediaeval Church, its structure, its law, its cults, its services, its devotions. Towards such a man as St. Francis of Assisi his attitude is at the best one of regret, that one who was to a certain extent well-meaning should have been led into a disastrous blunder. The idea of the Church, its majesty, its beauty, its impressiveness, does not touch him. Or rather he carries the idealization one step further than his fellow Churchmen, and transfers to the invisible body of the predestinate attributes of sanctity and claims to allegiance which they ascribe to an actually existing corporation. But the system as he finds it is almost wholly bad. It impedes the freedom of Christ and is alien to the simplicity of the Gospel. *Delenda est Carthago.* In ecclesiastical affairs he is an anarchist. To employ for a moment political analogues, the position of the typical Anglican in regard to ecclesiastical organization, and indeed theology, may be described as Whig or Liberal Conservative. Wyclif was alike by temperament and conviction an out-and-out Radical. In the contests of future days between those who supported the Elizabethan settlement and those who desired to remove the few remaining "rags of Popery," there can be no doubt as to the side which Wyclif would have supported. It is a question whether at any time he would have approved of the position and character of Anglicanism. The Laudian revival would have disgusted him; the dignified leisure of latitudinarian prelates would have moved his scorn; he would have repudiated the revived ecclesiasticism of the nineteenth century. The Evangelical party would have been more to his taste until they became powerful, but the accumulation of livings by the Simeon trust would have irritated him. So far as I can see, he would have been more in sympathy with John Bunyan or George Fox than with any, even of the sainted names, of the English Church—not excluding Wesley [1].

Wyclif was curiously non-Anglican in another respect, in

[1] Wyclif would have been opposed to the doctrine of "assurance."

his hold upon popular opinion. This has never been the strong point of the typical Anglican, unless perhaps in the period immediately succeeding the Revolution [1]. Wyclif, however, along with Thomas à Becket, won the affection of all classes. On the one hand we may safely say that, if ever a martyr has been canonized by popular acclaim, St. Thomas of Canterbury was so honoured. On the other hand it seems almost as certain that nothing but public favour saved Wyclif from the opportunity of such glory. There were, doubtless, other causes for his being unmolested. There was the strong antipapal nationalist sentiment, deeply intensified as it was by the connexion of the Avignonese popes with France during the beginning of the great war. William of Wykeham was certainly not hostile. John of Gaunt's protection was as powerful as it was interested, although it is not clear that this lasted during the final period of theological as distinct from political heterodoxy. Further, it was with difficulty that Oxford University was induced to take the mildest measures against him. Archbishop Sudbury, at least, had no desire to provoke a controversy with the powerful Lancastrian interest [2]. Yet in spite of all this, it seems almost certain that Courtenay must have succeeded in condemning and perhaps punishing not only Wyclifism but Wyclif, had it not been for the sheer weight of public opinion. From his own point of view, as a defender of the mediaeval system intent on the prevention by force of attacks upon it, he certainly ought to have succeeded. The Council of Constance, which represented the party of constitutional reform, was well aware of this. It is indeed a fact that needs accounting for, that Wyclif should have escaped a martyr's death and even imprisonment. He was as deeply opposed to the ecclesiastical system as Luther; and his views were subversive of the whole cycle of traditional doctrine. The Church was still relatively

[1] e.g. the popularity of Sacheverell, a man envied by the Whigs as the representative of the rank and file of the clergy of Queen Anne, with the London mob.

[2] The great schism was during his latter years a very real source of "inefficiency" in the central ecclesiastical power.

strong. Western Europe was still nominally one in faith and practice and organization, even if it was divided as to the actual depository of the papal power. Yet Wyclif was safe. The more we study his writings, the more remarkable the fact appears. The only sufficient explanation is the national conviction that he was doing a needful work. The chroniclers are unanimous in lamenting the wide-spread popularity of the new doctrines. Wyclif is the only Englishman at all on a par with the continental reformers of the sixteenth century either as thinker or as a popular force. In intellectual power and prophetic vision he possibly surpassed them all. Alike in his systematic thinking, his uncompromising attitude, his preference for sweeping change rather than practicable palliatives, and in his successful appeal to popular sentiment, Wyclif displayed characteristic mental habits that are not those of the typical English Churchman.

Yet this judgement needs qualification. It is certainly not an un-English trait that he should pour forth a stream of literature destined, if successful, to revolutionize the existing order from a quiet country parish. The position and importance he ascribes to laymen, if not specially English, are at least highly Teutonic. The more Wyclif's system is studied, the more anti-clerical does it appear. Even though he recognizes the practical need of clergy, he hints that laymen might under certain circumstances administer the sacraments; nor is his final criterion of "priesthood" any external mark at all.

The following passage is typical of the last stage in his opinions:—

"Crown and cloth maken no priest, nor the emperor's bishop with his words, but power that crist giveth; and thus by life been priests known[1]." A little further we find him saying: "Certes belief needeth us to say that Christ might make these priests either by words hid to us or by grace without words.... Why should not Christ do it so? Trow we that Christ sitting in heaven is letted to stretch his grace

[1] *De Papa*, Matthew, 467.

so far[1]." In a Latin tract he says that there was good reason for the silence of the Holy Spirit as to how, when, in what form Christ ordained the apostles, the reason being to show the indifferency of all forms of words[2]. The spiritual incapacity of the "presciti" (the foreordained to damnation) is not indeed held to destroy the actual validity of the sacrament to worthy recipients. But he is so fond of dilating on the fact, and so rich in hints, that in all probability the majority of contemporary clerics are in that condition[3], that the inevitable result on the minds of his readers must be to minimize to the utmost the utility of any special order of ministers in the Church[4]. No one is really excommunicated, unless he be excommunicated by himself, i.e. his own sin. No ecclesiastical superior can pronounce a judgement that has any value apart from God's will. There is a sense in which probably the most orthodox could have agreed with these statements. But practically their aim was to deny all right of discipline to the officers of the Church—a view which is perhaps more typically Anglican than any other. He asserts the right of laymen to judge the clergy; in certain cases parishioners may refuse tithe to an unfit parson[5]. And

[1] *De Papa*, Matthew, 467, 479.

[2] *De Quattuor Sectis Novellis*, Polemical Works, I. 259.

[3] The following is only one out of many similar passages—"Si essem positus per impossibile in necessitate adoptionis, uel concedere, quod isti sint dampnati tanquam heretici, vel quod meritorium sit et licitum clericos sic dotari, quod praeligerem primam partem, et secundam partem aufugerem tanquam oppositum fidei Christianae." *Supplementum Trialogi*, 414.

[4] An amusing quibble about St. Paul's statement that he did not know that Annas was high priest illustrates his underlying notion. He says that the Apostle was telling the truth, because the man was "dampnandus hypocrita, non sacerdos et per consequens non fuit princeps sacerdotum." *Opus Evangelicum*, 196.

[5] "And certis me thenkes that parischenes may in certeyne cases withholde dymes fro hym that is calde the persone, as thei may nedefully holde godes fro thes freres, or fro Jewes or Sarrasenes, that bee less evil than thei. But not iche parischen schulde, whan ever he wolde, holde fro hys person be hys owne juggement. But marke we wel that we have not titel to these dymes be *mannes resoun of dett*, as other worldly men pleten ther dettoures in forme of mannis lawe. But serve we trewly as God biddus to our sugetis, and thei ben holden to serve us in temporal godes; and ellus, as me thenke us failis right to dymes." *Seven Works of Mercy* (Arnold, iii. 177).

the whole legal system of clerical immunities he detests. Neither property nor coercive power belongs to the Church. Dominion in both its senses is foreign to it. He would like the clergy reduced in numbers, in power, and set to live temerariously on alms that should be free, the very opposite of perpetual tenure in "frankelmoign." The only aspect of the modern Church of England which Wyclif would thoroughly approve would be the diminished incomes of the beneficed clergy and the insecurity of tenure of the unbeneficed. In Wyclif's view the clergy are to be preachers of morality and religion at their own risk, with no organization of any kind at their back. He would relegate them very much to the same position as that desired by Erastus. If such a view is not typically Anglican, it is certainly not un-English, if especially we bear in mind, that in the fourteenth century the Church contained the ancestors of modern Dissenters, no less than Churchmen. His exaltation of the royal power and assertion of the wickedness of all ecclesiastical pretensions that stand in its way is a doctrine which, if not exclusively English, was at any rate destined to be the *cachet* of the most prominent divines of the Caroline period [1].

Wyclif's individualism is again very much of the English type. His pronounced Augustinianism, together with his dislike of all ecclesiastical machinery, and his own mental characteristics, made him as strongly opposed as any modern, to the principle of authority in the Church. In regard indeed to the State and to all rights he is not purely individualist. For his theory of dominion founded in grace is really a theory of the duty of all governing and propertied classes to consider the good of the governed. Neither war nor slavery is justifiable for a Christian on the mere ground of legal right. The character of the person it is sought to punish or enslave must be the true basis. Still it remains, that the individual soul is freed under Wyclif's system from all necessity of human media to approach the divine; the

[1] See on this point the account of the "De Officio Regis" in *The Divine Right of Kings*, pp. 66–72.

individual moral virtues are the real end of endeavour. Whatever he may say of ideal communism, he is really strongly opposed to any socialism [1], like that of the Roman Church or the Society of Jesus, which subjects individual belief, action, conscience to the "general will." The man who held the rights of the individual conscience as strongly as Wyclif would not have pressed practically the claims of the society over the individual in other matters. The very idea of authority in the Church irritates him, and if it be considered carefully it is only in a secondary sense that he admits it in the State [2]. His real thought is that the Gospel is sufficient, and no law is really needful. His real objection to the orders, whether monks or friars, is partly in their rule [3]. His whole position of protest may be summed up in the phrase "Christ made his servants free, but anti-Christ had made them bond again [4]."

[1] I use the term socialism to denote any system which absorbs the individual absolutely in the community—whether Church, or Order, or State.

[2] "Quis est ille qui vult confundere tam *dispares* naturas hominum in unam vanam regulam adinventam?" *Purgatorium Sectae Christi*, 303. It must be remembered that Wyclif includes in *ecclesia* the State, i. e. when he speaks of the visible organization, for he never contemplates anything but a Christian State. He says that the three orders of men, lords, clergy, commons, are divinely ordained in *the Church*, when we should say the State. The State in our sense hardly existed yet, only the temporal power, which did not mean the whole State. We must also bear in mind, that in all his remarks on legal rights, his real *animus* is against the clergy for standing upon them, not against ordinary laymen.

[3] Compare *De Civ. Dom.* xvii. p. 121 "Videtur mihi quod lex evangelica per se sufficeret sine lege civili vel vocata canonica ad completum regimen ecclesiae militantis . . . Christus nihil requirit ab homine nisi caritatem et media ad eandem; sed omnia docentur efficacissime lege Christi . . . cum Christus sit magister optimus et iudex supremus, quidquid homo debet facere docetur efficacissime lege Christi." Cf. also "Bonum esset non esse in ecclesia legem civilem, cum fidelis non debet contendere, sed pati iniurias in temporalibus sibi factas." *Opus Evangelicum*, 200. And again: "Dictum est autem quod leges humane sunt admittende a doctoribus de quanto consonant legi Dei, et in fructu consonant castigando peccata *licet omnes leges ille in forma et natura propria sint extincte.* Nam in statu innocencie non fuerunt et non erunt post diem iudicii, quando ecclesia erit optime regulata; et tunc cessabit humanum imperium."

[4] Matthew, 329.

Again, it must be admitted that in spite of his desire to bring everything to the test of reason, Wyclif's opposition was largely due to the practical evils of the ecclesiastical system as he saw it before his eyes. Nor was it till Pope Urban VI proclaimed a crusade, and got Englishmen to serve in it, that he felt constrained to identify the Papacy with anti-Christ. The drain of English money abroad[1], the unproductive character of the clerical life[2], the practical inutility of transubstantiation[3], all had their influence upon him. For his demand that all institutions and all holders of power should justify themselves by their practical utility he is indeed typically English and Teutonic. The same is true of his innate sense of the superior importance of personality to any form of organization. Wyclif and Luther would not have been what they were had they been born Frenchmen. We must never forget that both Calvin and Loyola were essentially Latin in temperament.

It is then as a critic of actual abuses, driven farther and farther into opposition by the logic of facts, that Wyclif is most truly English. This is the case in regard to indulgences, to elaborate Church building and music, to saint worship and the exaction of tithes by non-resident rectors. He would have been less violent against endowments, could he have seen the modern employment of (say) episcopal revenues. It is not only because the friars taught a false philosophy, but because they devoured widows' houses, deflowered maidens, because they were false to their own ideal of apostolic poverty, because they were sturdy and indolent beggars, that he finds

[1] "Though our realm had a huge hill of gold, and never other man took thereof but only the proud worldly priest's collectors, by process of time this hill must be spent, for he taketh ever money out of our land, and sendeth nought again but God's curse for his simony and accursed anti-Christ's clerk to rob more the land, or wrongful privilege." *The Great Sentence of Curse* (Arnold, iii. 320).

[2] "Nostri clerici nec evangelizant sicut apostoli neque pugnant sicut seculares domini, neque laborant ut operarii." *Supplementum Trialogi*, 412.

[3] He argues that even though the miracle were possible, yet God would never work a useless miracle. "Quae utilitas, quod panis usque ad fundamentum in eo destruatur et sensus omnium illud sacramentum percipiencium per se illudantur." *Cruciata*, Polemical Works, 621.

them so noxious. It was the abuse of excommunication till it became a sort of county court notice that led him to object to its use. He points out with unanswerable force the degradation of an awful spiritual penalty into a normal method of recovering debt. All this helped to give him his hold. The English will always listen to criticism, and seldom worry themselves about any larger ideals which to the critic may be no less important than his detailed attack. Probably, like John of Gaunt, they neglected the strain of idealism in his preaching, and took no notice of his eager assertions of fraternity, just as a modern audience will listen to a Fabian attacking the landlords or the capitalists, but will airily ignore his schemes for mutual help and brotherhood. Politically, intellectually, morally we are a nation of opportunists. Wyclif was never that.

Wyclif was in another matter a type of the English Churchman. He started his movement in Oxford. It is indeed remarkable, that with the characteristic exception of the Cambridge Platonists, all the religious movements that have been powerfully effective in England took their origin in Oxford University. It was not indeed remarkable in the fourteenth century, for Oxford was just then the metropolis of scholasticism in Europe, and Paris was no longer what it had been[1]. Still it is not without interest to note, that if the earliest ecclesiastical condemnation at Oxford was that of Wyclifism, the latest was that of "Ideal" Ward on the eve of his embracing that ultramontane papalism which Wyclif strove so hard to destroy. This, however, is of slight importance. I proceed to the second and most interesting question.

II. Was Wyclif a new and a great force? To this, I think that we must unhesitatingly answer yes. In some respects he was even greater than Luther. He seems to have shed the clothes of the old system more easily. Yet we must not exaggerate. There were always those who were desirous of infusing fresh moral and spiritual energy into the forms of

[1] Cf. Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, ii.

religion—nor were they all of them so well disposed towards authority as St. Francis of Assisi. The notions of Arnold of Brescia about clerical poverty were not perhaps dissimilar to those of Wyclif, and other parallels can be found. The great conflict between spiritual and secular authority had been going on for centuries. The uprising of the lay power against the clerical was no new thing, at least then. It was successfully asserted in France by Philip the Fair, and theoretically defended in the Empire by William of Ockham, Dante, Marsilio of Padua, and John of Iandun. To the two last indeed the pope deliberately compared Wyclif in the Bull of 1377: nor can we claim for Wyclif the political originality or the interest of the *Defensor Pacis*.

Yet the fact remains that Wyclif was the first to reject the mediaeval Church system as a whole, and to demand not its mending but its ending[1]. Not a particle of it would have remained, had Wyclif's maxims become operative. There would have been a cleaner sweep made of the existing order than was made in 1789 of the *ancien régime*, and very much cleaner than that of the Reformation. The political position and proprietary rights of the clergy would have vanished. The regular clergy, monks and friars alike would have been, as he says, "in Tartarus[2]." There would have no more auricular confession, "late brought in by the fiend[3]," no more confirmation, no indulgences, nor extreme unction, no, or very little liturgical service[4], no cathedrals, no canon law, no glebes, no rectories[5], no colleges[6], no councils, no endowments, no governing prelates, no cardinals, no popes. Marriage (so far as living together *not* remarriage was concerned) would have been dissoluble for any sin, for spiritual is worse than carnal

[1] Cf. Creighton, *Historical Essays*, 199.

[2] *De Diabolo*, Polemical Works, ii. 364.

[3] See the tract in Arnold iii, 325 sqq.

[4] "If parsons had no glebe and no proper house as heritage, they sueden more Christ and his apostles." *De Officio Pastorali*, Matthew, 449.

[5] "Wonder it is why men preisen so muche this name preyinge by great criynge and hey song, and leven stille manner of preyinge, as Crist and his apostils diden." *De Precatione* (Arnold, iii. 229).

[6] *Opus Evangelicum*, 170 sqq.

fornication. Nor would a religious ceremony be necessary to create a marriage; the mutual consent spoken or NOT of husband and wife was to be sufficient. Truly Western Europe reformed as Wyclif desired, would have been far more different from the mediaeval world than is twentieth-century civilization. To some extent his ideas have been working themselves out ever since, as for instance, the unification of Italy at the expense of the pope, and the recent measures of M. Combes, a man in many ways after Wyclif's own heart. I think, then, that the novelty and greatness of the changes proposed by Wyclif must be admitted in spite of the fact that until the day of his death he went on performing the duties of a parish priest, and that mass was said over him at his funeral—an instructive lesson on the ethics of conformity.

It is not merely or mainly that as Dr. Rashdall says, in "almost every matter but the technical doctrine of justification by faith" he anticipated the views of the sixteenth-century reformers[1], but rather because his whole tone of thought and temperament, was non-ecclesiastical and modern. Far more so indeed than many of the reformers, who merely, as in the case of Calvin, substituted a more rigid and narrowing clericalism for the old which even at its worst was broadly human. For the mediaeval Church is more than a religious body. It is a civilization. Now the reason that Wyclif can be claimed as so daring and prophetic an innovator, is that the whole of this civilization has disappeared from his mind—except as a thing to denounce. He is blind to its merits no less than to its defects. It is not that like many other mediaeval writers and indeed the reformers of all ages he was struck by the contrast between the ideal and the actual, and desired to remedy the latter. But the ideal vision of human society which lights up the lives and writings of men so different as Hildebrand or St. Bernard or Dante or Ockham was repudiated by Wyclif as "wandering fire." They all asserted that the world of fact was different from the world

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

of dreams, and that mankind must make fresh efforts to curb the abuses of ecclesiastical or lay powers. They all of them were prophets of righteousness; whether they would give the temporal sword to pope or emperor, they all desired to see one depository of Divine authority, and that pope and emperor should each fulfil his function in a world which needed both. All of them desired and strove to effect, like the fathers of Constance a little later, a "reformation of the Church in head and members." But none of them dreamed of any radical alteration of the existing order; they wanted it to work better; they wanted a reorganized *séparation des pouvoirs*—but they no more desired to see the existing framework of society shattered, than does a modern political leader, who declares, that the Cabinet or the House of Lords or the existing House of Commons or the bishops are striving to ruin the country. But Wyclif did. He desired a new order, not the old order reformed. Even though he set the example of all later reformers of going back for his sanctions to the earliest ages of the Church, his real outlook was towards a new world, in which society at large should be regulated on Christian principles[1], but there should no longer be a vast organization pitting its alleged religious interests against secular. His writings are even more remarkable for what they omit than for what they contain. The conception of Church authority—apart from reason and Scripture—he coordinates the two—had no meaning to him. He is in one sense very naturalistic, for he argues that all Christian doctrines can be proved by natural reason[2]; and so far from admitting any antagonism between faith and reason, declares

[1] It is this that he has in mind, when he declares a theologian to be above all things necessary to a state.

[2] The following passage from an early work illustrates the view: "In omni secta sunt multa credita que nec sufficiunt nec expedit protervo deducere. In hoc tamen excedit Christiana quascunque alias, quod maxime archana sue fidei copiose probari possunt, miracula explanari in naturali lumine evidenciis et exemplis philosophicis, necnon omnes impugnatorum argucie evidenter tolli etiam ex naturalibus eorum principiis." *De Benedicta Incarnacione*, 159. Cf. with this his last Latin work, *Trialogus*, 55.

that the supernatural revelation is but the power of the light of reason[1]. He has to all intents and purposes discarded the notion of a Church or rather he identifies it purely with the State. His ascription of its prerogatives merely to the invisible Church of the predestined, and his denial that any "prescitus" pope can be a member of it, make the whole mediaeval notion of the relation of the individual to the Christian society out of place. He goes back to the example and precepts of Christ, as exhibited in the New Testament and in the primitive Church[2]. But in the Christian society as such, in popes or Caesarean prelates or councils, he recognizes no power over the conscience—and hardly even a presumption in their favour[3]. He would have been in sympathy with the statement of the article that general councils *may* and *have* erred[4]. This he states. The Church as a visible unity with powers over its members has vanished.

So with the State. We cannot indeed properly separate the mediaeval ideal of the two. But what we observe is that the conception of unity which governed mediaeval thought is not to be found in Wyclif. This was the source of the appeal of the Holy Roman Empire to the imagination. Upon this the Papalist on the one hand and the Imperialist on the other based his claim for a world monarchy. It is the inspiring principle of books so diverse as the *De Civitate Dei*

[1] "Inter omnes siquidem loquentes videtur mihi quod moderni magis exorbitant qui ponunt lumen fidei tamquam contrarium, confundere quae videmus in lumine naturali. E contra equidem est dicendum quod lumen supernaturale est forma perfectiva luminis naturalis." *De Dominio Divino*, i. c. xi.

[2] "Considero quod in multis extraneo a modernis, sed cum multis sanctis antiquis et specialiter Augustino convenio." *Trialogus*, 226.

[3] "Si essent centum papae, et omnes fratres essent versi in cardinales, non deberet credi sententiae suae in materia fidei, nisi de quanto fundaverint in scriptura." *Trialogus*, 266.

[4] Cf. also his objection to transubstantiation. "Antichristus in ista haeresi destruit grammaticam, logicam, et scientiam naturalem, sed quod magis dolendum est tollit sensum evangelii." *Trialogus*, 261. His view of the all-sufficiency of Scripture is thoroughly Protestant, and he occasionally uses language which is almost like that traditionally attributed to the Caliph Omar about the Koran in regard to everything being either explicitly or implicitly Scripture. Some of his arguments against ceremonies are exactly those of the Puritans combated by Hooker.

of St. Augustin, the *De Monarchia* of Dante, and the *De Potestate Papae* of Augustinus Triumphus. It even lent support to the wild schemes for the supremacy of the French propounded in the *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*. But there is no hint of any such dream in Wyclif. He is thoroughly nationalist; he dislikes the teaching of the "Emperor's Law." He does but express facts. The unity, shadowy at best, of the mediaeval world was breaking up. The use of the term Christendom as anything but a geographical expression would soon be obsolete. Wyclif we must remember lived in the days when the French king had the pope in his pocket, and the empire was at a discount. Englishmen were on fire with the glories of the earlier days of Edward III and the shame of the later years of the Black Prince. There was little to keep alive any universal state, even as an ideal. Thus the great schism was but the expression of these political facts. It was no more religious in origin than the veto recently exercised by Austria over the candidature of Rampolla. But its result on Wyclif is notable. The division did not drive him, like Gerson and the Paris doctors, to demand a general council to unite the divided flock under one shepherd: it only demonstrated to him the uselessness of the shepherd, and the futility of centralized authority in the Church. Wyclif confined his dreams of organized unity to the national state now coming into being[1]. The Church's unity meant to him nothing but the equality of all Christians, and the iniquity of all privileges in the form of special concessions such as the particular rules of the order. He objects to friars, &c., because they break up the unity of the Church of Christ. His reiterated condemnation of the *private* character of these sects is of great interest. It is exactly the same notion that led gradually to the repudiation of all truly corporate bodies apart from the state. This, it has been pointed out by Professor Maitland[2], is one of the most

[1] Here indeed he is strong enough on the need of unity; cf. *De Officio Regis*, 1389.

[2] See the most valuable introduction of the latter to his Translation of Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*.

characteristic changes from the mediaeval to the modern world. Wyclif's objection to the friars as corporations is of exactly the same order. Their existence is antagonistic to the ubiquity and omni-competence of the Christian state—only to Wyclif, Church, as apart from the Christian State, has become merely the Christian ideal, and has ceased to connote any system of order or authority or law or discipline. But it is the sense of public law as opposed to private concessions[1], which inspires Wyclif in this polemic, and is at the same time a dominant tendency in the growth of the modern world.

The same spirit is seen in his frequent references to the wisdom of the Greek and Eastern Churches in repudiating Papal authority. Nothing can be more indicative at once of the daring originality of Wyclif, and of his complete repudiation of the mediaeval ideals, than his willingness to bring these Churches into account, and indeed to regard them as good testimony, without showing the smallest desire for any scheme of practical unification. He has clearly passed beyond the stage when Western Catholicism was a law to itself, and reflects not the self-absorbed exclusiveness of the middle ages, but the widening horizons of the modern world[2].

The same is the case with his celebrated theory of dominion.

[1] "Eadem est consideracio de gildis et aliis privatis fraternitatibus hominum adinventis. Per omnia enim talia lex Cristi minuitur et per dyabolum dissensionis seminarium occultatur. *Quantum ad collegia in studiis generalibus est idem iudicium.* Nam per ipsa patrie et persone contra caritatis regulas acceptantur et intrinsece invidie cum peccatis aliis et periuriis ac symoniis contra instituta propria cumulantur." *De Quattuor pectis Novellis*, Polemical Works, 271, 2. This passage exhibits this sentiment in a salient light. But the idea occurs throughout the polemical works. I quote a couple of other passages illustrating the same idea: General prayer is better than special sith it comes of more large charity and is about better and more *common* profit. Arnold, iii. 425, and *Polem. Works*, 533 "Christiana religio cum debet communicari cunctis Christi fidelibus debet esse communissima."

[2] The following passage shows us his underlying thought in the wider appeal:—"Nos autem occidui Mahometi, qui sumus pauci inter fideles ecclesiae, credimus quod ad nostrum iudicium reguletur et contremit totus mundus, cum tamen plures sunt sapientes Graeci vel longe plures fideles Indii qui tenent consuetudinem nobis oppositam in hac parte." *Speculum Militantis Ecclesiae*, 91. Cf. also *Cruciata*, Pol. Works, ii. 599.

Scholastic, subtle, and paradoxical in form its essence is really the notion that all human rights are to be exercised as a trust, and not merely for the gratification of the user. From the practice of war by states down to the recovery of debts or prosecution of malefactors by individuals, from all forms of political authority down to the smallest exercise of proprietary right, Wyclif would extend his principle. This is the idea on which all social and political and legal changes for the betterment of the world have been proceeding ever since, and Wyclif has the credit if not of discovery at least of announcing it. It is not of course denied that such justifications were sought in the middle ages. Feudalism with all its faults was an attempt to correlate the rights and duties of property. But if Dr. Stubbs is right in ascribing to mediaeval wars the character of wars for legal rights, and to modern wars for ideas, it must be admitted that Wyclif is rather with the modern than the mediaeval practice.

We must not forget that the real animus of Wyclif is against both political and proprietary power as exercised by the clergy. It is the theory which puts all dominion into the hands of the pope that he is really combating [1]. In regard to the Church his statements must be taken literally. He was compelled, however, to add to these logically similar statements about secular authorities and rights, but it is not clear that he meant these more than academically. He used language, for instance, which would seem to invalidate for a Christian (and he contemplates no other kind of citizen) the whole law of Torts; but, if it be studied, it will be seen that his chief, if not his only, object is to prevent the clergy employing the forms of litigation to recover either tithes or some other endowment which ought, in his view, to be precarious, not legally secured. With this premiss, we may briefly endeavour to expound the theory. Only the righteous man truly possesses any property. Why? Possession exists to confer benefits on the possessors. But only a righteous man

[1] This of course had been heightened by the action of the friars, who in order to keep their vow of poverty to the letter had made the Pope universal trustee of the property, they merely enjoying the usufruct.

uses anything so as really to get good from it. Further, not only does no one else really own anything, but the righteous owns everything. "All things are yours," and "all things work together for good to them that love God"; i. e. the whole meaning of possession accrues to the righteous, whether he loses or keeps the actual goods of this life they are his; for even if he is robbed the loss of them redounds to his growth in grace, and so he really possesses them [1]. The wicked, on the other hand, though he may have the universe to call his own has it not really, for he uses it to himself not to God; this is impossible, being against the nature of things [2]; and consequently his alleged property only brings him harm. Wyclif in fact invests all rights in those who derive utilities from them. This can only be the good, for all other utility (such as selfish pleasure) is really disutility. Property he would say (in modern economic phrase) is value in use, quite apart from legal title; only the righteous can have this, for no one else really extracts use from anything which they have. Since, however, the righteous can extract profit from everything whether he has it or not, in a very real sense, "to him that hath shall be given: and to him that hath not the grace of God shall be taken away even that which he hath," i. e. earthly goods [3].

[1] "Si omni predestinato, secundum eternum Dei propositum, omnia inferiora proficiunt, quomodo non foret illorum dominus? ut si iustus habuerit usumfructus de bonis avari, merendo ex illis beatitudinem, ubi avaro non serviunt, sed dominando obfiunt, quomodo diceretur avarus istorum dominus et non iustus, cum quomodocunque et quandocunque voluerit potest recipere eorum usum?" *De Civili Dominio*, c. vii. p. 48.

"Constat quod meliorem usum de dominabili nemo posset recipere, quam quod idem iuvaret hominem ad impugnandum hostes nitentes perdere animam et corpus, et acquirere beatitudinem; ad quod cum ministrat omnis natura corporea cuicunque predestinato in gracia, sequitur quod omnis talis istis dominabilibus, secundum usum summe fructiferum, dominatur." *De Civili Dominio*, p. 50.

[2] "Immoderate amans haec temporalia non est istorum dominus, quamcunque dives fuerit apud mundum. Probatur ex hoc quod illa non obediunt sue voluntati cum vult in eis habere quietem et quod serviant sibi inobedienti Deo; quod est impossibile." *De Civili Dominio*, c. xii. p. 85.

[3] The growth of the theory that the real meaning of property was its use, and that there was nothing held in absolute property, may have been assisted by the spectacle of the mendicant friars. Although they claimed

This then might clearly have led to revolution. But Wyclif had no mind for social revolution. Since the righteous man is the "predestinate," and we can never *know* the latter, no existing rights must be overset. Just because the righteous is ideally lord of all things, he ought in fact to possess nothing, but to live like Christ *exproprietarie*. It is for this very reason that the pope sins so grievously in living as an earthly prince, and that the whole Caesarean clergy is to be condemned for living on endowments. The donation of the Church by Constantine has been its curse. The latter could give neither real property nor political lordship. As against the claim that the pope is truly lord and has absolute rights, Wyclif sets up the assertion that he is only a minister. His notion of the headship of Christ always prevented him admitting, even in the earlier stages of his opinion, any absolute right of government in the pope. Civil lordship is in fact a consequence of the fall. In this he shares the view of men so diverse as Hildebrand and Luther—only he extends it to all legal rights, not merely to sovereignty. As we saw the main purpose of his attacks is to stimulate the secular power to make its due claims, as the coercive authority ordained of God. But even in regard to the State, although in the main he preaches the duty of obedience, he uses phrases which show that he saw that his system must be eventually applied to political as well as ecclesiastical rulers. The same feeling about private property is occasionally allowed expression, and indeed the connexion of property and jurisdiction made the transition more obvious than now.

Wyclif indeed symbolizes the course of development of this conception of all rights being really trusts. First, absolute power is denied to the Church by the assertion that pope and prelates hold office only for edification and salvation, i. e. for the good of the community. Thus in the highest

that neither individually nor collectively did they own anything, yet to all intents and purposes they appeared to the observers to live, as if they possessed the property of which they had the use. The transition is easy to the notion that the property implies utility, and thence to the further notion, that it is only truly property on condition of being employed for really useful (i. e. not merely self-indulgent) ends.

sphere it is proclaimed that sovereignty is ministerial not "lordly." This is the stage not only of Wyclif, but of the fathers at Constance [1].

Then as against the clerical belittlement of ordinary political power the divine right of the secular state is upheld. On the one hand, its inherent necessity in human life against those who deny it to be more than a *pis aller*, (2) its irresponsibility and claim to obedience, or at least submission in all cases. This in turn is seen to be one-sided. Assisted by the old clericalist view, which envisages clearly enough the responsibility of the civil ruler, the divine right of the state no less than the Church is seen to be justifiable not merely by the needs of human society, but partly dependent on the mode of its exercise, and on the condition also of some element of righteousness in the governor. Thus political authority is recognized as ministerial, i.e. held in trust for the public welfare [2].

Later still the same process is applied to proprietary rights, and we have the gospel of the duties superadded to the law of the rights of property. Thus the stages are. The divinity of the Church leads to its claim to absolute and irresponsible authority and the inferiority of the state. This is denied to the Church, and the moralization of its power is demanded. Then the state runs the same course, and last of all individual ownership. This process was not much more than beginning at this time. Wyclif's theory logically includes all these stages, and could only be completely fulfilled by a general recognition of the notion of stewardship not even now reached. He is mainly occupied naturally in depressing the power of the Church, and begging the state for its liberation from endowments. But though he exalts very highly the state as against the Church—the former represents the deity, i.e. the sovereignty of Christ, while the latter represents His humanity, i.e. His submission—he does not refuse now and then to drop phrases,

[1] See a paper on Politics at the Council of Constance in *Transactions of Royal Hist. Soc.*

[2] See on this point "Some Political Theories of the Early Jesuits" in the same Society's *Transactions*, vol. vii.

which show that he felt his principles went further than his immediate practical object. Still his idea of the state is in the main that of the "mortal god," which was to rule the thought not only of Hobbes, but of Machiavelli, of Luther, and of the Caroline divines.

Wyclif thus represents the uprising of the lay spirit against political ecclesiasticism in all its forms. *Le cléricalisme c'est l'ennemi.* He is filled with the sense of the right of the community as a whole against any part of it. All assistance of the secular power to the coercive jurisdiction of prelates, except on a final right of review, is to be withdrawn. He himself appealed from an ecclesiastical decision to the King, and would give all men the right to do so. The privilege of sanctuary is really a private right, which is against public law and policy. Excommunication, if continued, must lose its civil aspects. No religious order is to have power to imprison its members. He repudiates, in fact, the conception of the Church as a coercive organization, and in so doing shattered the ideal which ruled men's minds from the time of St. Augustine, and was in a slightly altered form the life of political Puritanism, and of the "discipline" of Presbyterianism. He is in the true sense of the term an Erastian. Persuasion, not compulsion, is the right method. He does not indeed forbid all persecution, and certainly contemplates exclusively Christian citizenship. But he objects to putting to death for religious differences; and his thought moves in the direction of toleration. Where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty, is his claim. The true method of Christ's servants is by ascetic life, by piety, good words, and true charity. This fact is the real and only uniting bond of men in God's eyes[1]. For spiritual goods mainly differ from material in that they are not exhausted by communication, but enrich both giver and receiver. Hence it is natural that all forms of religious endowment should be condemned by him. And the great object of two-thirds of his writings is their abolition[2]. He

[1] Cf. on this point the oft-reiterated expressions of Gregory the Great in his letters.

[2] He actually says that the alternate use of the wives of the laity by the clergy would be less of an evil than endowments. *De Ecclesia*, 365.

did not desire, what we mean by disestablishment, but would have approved a national Church, over which the rights of the state, i. e. the laity, were unquestioned. But he desired the clergy to be not so much poor as dependent. The followers of Christ should trust not in man but God for their sustinence. The method of the late Mr. Muller was exactly after his ideal. Tithe, indeed, for a long time he upheld. But his reservations practically abandon it. For they transform it into a voluntary offering dependent on good behaviour. Of the two possible methods for securing the Church freedom from earthly cares, that of endowing it with a competence he considered to be a ghastly failure. He recommended the alternative of diminishing the wants of the clergy. "Having food and raiment let us be content." You may either satisfy the wants of the clergy or restrict them. He believes in doing the latter. He admires holy poverty, but he has the characteristic modern contempt for begging, and reflects in this as in other matters the views of the dominant aristocracy. He has the modern feeling of the economic waste produced by an endowed clergy. He sees that in the last resort it is the poorer classes who suffer by the financial privileges of the Church. Disendowment might produce a material lightening of taxation. If the nobles had the lands of the Church, they would have less motives to oppress the peasantry; and in his opinion would be better landlords than the monks. Although he speaks against oppression in general terms, the sins of the aristocracy, which he rates the highest, are the acquiescence in ecclesiastical endowments, and their refusal by confiscating them to enrich both themselves and their poorer neighbours.

Of the glorious ecclesiastical buildings, which in the fourteenth century were rising all over England, he has nothing to say but to lament their useless cost. Another age would see one of the greatest legacies in the middle ages, and cry, "All else for which the builders sacrificed has vanished. Victory, wealth, authority, happiness, all have departed. But of them and of their life and work upon earth, one reward, one evidence remains to us in those gray heaps of deep wrought stone. They have taken with them to the grave their powers,

their honour, and their errors; but they have left us their adoration[1]." No feeling of this sort ever crossed the mind of Wyclif, who exemplifies in a remarkable degree that type of piety described by Mr. James as always driven further and further, by the immanent logic of its temperament, towards the simplification and unifying of aspirations, interests, and beliefs[2]. This is indeed the final proof of the revolutionary character of Wyclif's thought. As we saw, there is no evidence that he cared aught for the ritual, the colour, or the outward beauty and dignity of holiness. So far as can be judged he had no literary or artistic sense at all—unless we take as proof of it the extremely poor attempts to "delight"[3] his readers by giving dramatic form to his ideas in the *Speculum Militantis Ecclesiae* and the *Trialogus*. At times he becomes almost eloquent in his assertion of the beauty of Christ's preaching and living in the open air. His thought indeed to a large extent illustrates the difference between the coloured and enclosed glories of a mediaeval fane, its "fugitive and cloistered virtues," and the fresher and more natural aspirations of life lived in the outer world. One by one he shatters all the artificially wrought homes for man's spirit, the monastic, the collegiate, the ecclesiastical, and will be content with no bounds narrower than the horizons, no walls smaller than the elements—for to him the natural and the Christian are at one, the human and the elaborate are "fond things vainly invented." Of the majestic Church system, which even in its corruption impresses the spirit by its universality, the greatness of its claims, and its terrific strength—he feels nothing but the strength, and that he believes to be diabolical. The true Church is for him the invisible body of the predestined. He was a pronounced Augustinian, and in this respect develops that side of the great African father which was neglected or ignored in the middle ages[4]. His whole

[1] Ruskin, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, chap. i.

[2] *Varieties of Religious Experience.*

[3] This is his own word in both cases. Readers of either can judge whether it is applicable.

[4] Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, shows how mediaeval ideals were the development

system turns on our ignorance of the division between sheep and goats—and the more modern doctrine of assurance would have been entirely opposed to his ideas[1]. It is only to the universal Church so understood that the Christian man, a pilgrim whose citizenship is in heaven, owes any allegiance. This is the true and only *Civitas Dei*. By this means he snaps the bonds of authority and leaves the individual free to consult his judgement. He thus leaves to the individual a deciding judgement, as much as the later form of appeal to Scripture, or the contemporary habit of bringing in the authority of the universal Church, as it appears to be to the disputant, to upset any and every custom or judgement of the existing local and legal organization[2]. Wyclif carries the step of idealization of the Church from particular to general one step further; he sees the difficulty of re-uniting its claims to absolute obedience, to infallibility, to sanctity with actual facts. He admits the claims, but transfers the body which can exercise them to the other world. In what must be the bitterest irony he interprets the *Unam Sanctam* (which declares it necessary for salvation for every soul to be subject to the pope) to be only true of his Church, i. e. the body of the "predestined." Any other interpretation would attribute blasphemy to Boniface VIII[3].

It is a new heaven and a new earth which Wyclif contem-

of one aspect of St. Augustine's teaching about the Church, to the neglect of others. Wyclif reversed this.

[1] His attitude is in fact much more that of Calvinism, than anything which our own day will tolerate. God is "infinitus pronus ad puniendum." The tortures of the damned add to the bliss of the saved. "De sua dampna erimus perpetuo consolati."

[2] So far as its authority is concerned, the Church for Wyclif is exactly like the Catholic Church for certain controversialists to-day. Since it is not entirely embodied either in Rome or Russia, and cannot be confined to the provinces of York and Canterbury, its authority is only another name for individual caprice, and is as Creighton said "a peculiarly English way of talking nonsense."

[3] "Cum ergo iuxta decreta Romana ecclesia habet primatum et dignitatem quoad Deum super omnes alias, patet quod illa est totalis ecclesia militans, quam Deus plus diligit quam aliam eius partem. Et sic manifeste sequitur ex fide quod non illud collegium sed tota mater in omni gente et lingua dispersa sit illa sancta Romana ecclesia, de qua iura loquuntur." *De Ecclesia*, 87, 8.

plates. To his ideal vision the old order, corrupt, exclusive, bristling with privilege, and producing irrational and un-Christian claims, must be "root and branch" destroyed. He looks to a state of Christian citizens, inspired and ruled by the spirit of God, and of mutual charity; in which public ends should always be superior to private; in which the ministers of Christ shall live in apostolic simplicity upon the voluntary alms of the people; in which wars, serfdom, temporal and spiritual prevention of wrongs shall look to the real good of the injurer, not to the securing of the rights of the injured. If he would not abolish all ecclesiastical forms and all Church organization, his mind is so entirely fixed on the inward moral and spiritual powers, which can alone inspire them with life, that he would leave nearly everything elastic. The loosest form of the Congregational, or even the Quaker, system would probably most nearly fulfil his ideas—only of course there is no repudiation but rather exaltation of the supremacy of the state, and it is a body of national states independent and absolute which he contemplates. Christendom has vanished. We are in the presence of the European Discord. He is a prophet. Wyclif seems to have had no doubt that his ideas would ultimately triumph. He was right—at least to a large extent. The course of historical development from that day to this has been in many respects merely the working out in practice of the underlying ideas and principles of Wyclif's thought.

III. Our third question has been practically answered already. In essence Wyclif is a modern. In certain minor and incidental matters, and in the forms of expression he was mediaeval.

His method was partly both. His Latin writings are the nadir of scholasticism, and would alone stimulate the desire for some great change. They are arid and sophisticated. They repeat, quibble, and syllogize, till the brain would reel, were it not that the very repetitions fix the writer's meaning. Like his predecessors, Wyclif's chief work is a *Summa*[1].

[1] The best account of this is in Hauréau, *De la Philosophie scolastique*. But owing doubtless to the date of the book, Wyclif himself is not mentioned

Like all mediaeval philosophers he strove to set forth his system as a clearly articulated whole. Like them he is always redolent of the controversies of the day. He represents indeed the final stage in the great debate between nominalism and realism. He refers us back in many points to Fitzralph, to Bradwardine, to Grossteste. The first of these in his *De Pauperie Salvatoris* prepared the way for Wyclif's theory of dominion[1]. The second is at the bottom of his strong predestinarianism[2]. The third is the source of much of his anti-papal polemic, and one of his most effective attacks on the "Caym's castles[3]."

Still its perusal greatly assists to the understanding of his "realism" and of his relation to Ockham.

[1] Printed by Mr. Poole at the close of his edition of the *De Dominio Divino*.

[2] Wyclif is constantly saying "Omnia quae evenient, de necessitate evenient." Yet from one passage it seems clear that he excepts the human will and does not deny man's responsibility. *Opus Evangelicum*, 352.

[3] The four orders of friars: the following poem will show how they denote this: Caym or Cain denotes Carmelite, Austin Friars, Jacobites, and Minorites :—

Now se the sothe whedre it be swa
Yat frer Carmes come of a k.,
The frer Austynes come of a.,
Frer Jacobynes of i.,
Of m. comen the frer Menours;
Thus grounded Caym the four ordours,
That fillen the world full of errours,
And of ypocrisy.
Alle wickednes that men can telle
Regnes have among;
Ther shal no saule have rowme in helle
Of frers ther is such throng.
Thai travele zerne and busily,
To brynge down the clergye;
Thai speken ther of any villany,
And therof thai done wrong.
Whoso lyves oght many zers
Shal se that it shall falle of frers
As it dyd of the temples,
That wonned here us among.
For thai held no religioun.
but lyved after lykyng,
Thai were distroyed and broght adown
throgh ordynance of the king.

He represents in part the sunset glory of mediaeval Oxford [1], which never recovered from the repression of this doctrine [2]. But in his depreciation of miracles [3], and exaltation of preaching, in his deliberate appeal to the people, his use of the vernacular, his translation of the Bible, his love of science and all truth, his very modern conception of punishment as remedial [4], his faith in Parliament [5] in which the whole kingdom is virtually collected, his public spirit he is modern. His doctrine of the Sacrament is another illustration of this. In form it is a highly technical scholastic theory. It arose out of his opposition to nominalism. If, as was said, it was needful for transubstantiation to declare that the elements

> Lord God that with paynes ille
> man kynde boght so dere,
> Let never man after me have wille,
> for to make him frere.
>
> Wright, *Political Songs*, 266.

[1] His dislike of culture and belittlement of education in comparison with the right life are though in terms defensible, in spirit that of the narrower Puritanism of all ages from Gregory the Great to the Plymouth Brethren. He was certainly against the feeling of his own day in the matter.

[2] Even here his independence of spirit comes out. Many realists (cf. Hauréau) tried to pose as Aristotelians of the true succession. Wyclif knew that realism was the mediaeval counterpart of the Platonic theory of ideas and has no scruple in publicly repudiating the "philosopher." Rarely indeed in the middle ages can we find Aristotle spoken of in such terms as these, "Nec Aristoteles scivit istam sententiam Platonis destruere, sed aequivocando ac ignoscendo virtutem sui sermonis multos homines duxit in devium." *Trialogus*, 66. Cf. also p. 84 where he says "Democritus autem Plato, Augustinus, Lincolniensis (Grosseteste) ... sunt longe clariores philosophi" [than Aristotle]. In this preference for Plato he not merely represents the true sentiments of "realism," but foreshadows the Renaissance philosophers.

[3] "Evangelizatio talis verbi est preciosior quam ministracio alicuius ecclesiastici Sacramenti." *Opus Evan.*, 375.

[4] Wyclif felt most strongly that the real witness of truth is inward. Even if alleged miracles are true they are not evidence of sanctity. It is his strong sense of intellectual truth as opposed to the mere testimony of the senses leads him to say, "Belief is insensible and more true than such signs. As this truth is insensible that two and three make five, and yet it is more certain than any sensible thing here. This Belief in Holy Writ passeth all these clepid miracles."

[5] e. g. the statement *omnis veritas est catholica*—this is the very spirit of the modern world.

as we see them, were accidents existing without any underlying substance, whether quantity or quality or nothing, Wyclif, to whom as a realist the doctrine of substance was dear, could not accept the theory of transubstantiation. For accidents were the mode of operation of this subject—and the assimilation of impanation to Incarnation seems to him impossible. The only way out is to deny that the alleged material change takes place, and to assert the real presence, WITHOUT any such change [1]. He thus entirely discards the theory of the mediaeval Church of the mode of the real presence, while strongly asserting the fact. But in this matter he is opposed to the whole concrete tendency of mediaeval thought. The *opus operatum* conception of the sacrament was repugnant to him [2]. Wyclif, be it remembered, sees rightly that the real meaning of sacramentalism is the spiritual significance of all matter. He thinks that the Incarnation is the greatest of all sacraments [3]. Nor must we forget that according to his "realism" the *esse intelligibile* of everything is God, and hence that the Holy Trinity is in everything. Thus the real presence is but a special and particular case of this universal fact. But partly for this reason he declares that the "worst heresy that God suffered to come to kirk is to trowe that this sacrament is an accident without substance" [4]; for this makes the sign of God's presence in the Eucharist an inferior being to the lowest of creatures, since it denies to it substance. It may be added that some of the arguments against Wyclif took the form of charging him with maintaining a materialistic doctrine which would tend to idolatry. This

[1] So early a work as the *De Benedicta Incarnatione* makes it plain that even at that time there was a difficulty with him in accepting the view that accidents could exist without a subject. Cf. also *De Compositione Hominis*, 129.

[2] It is this that makes him so strongly object to the theory of indulgences, and even of the distinction between mortal and venial sins. Anything that reduces penitence and the spiritual life to a transaction is abhorrent to him. As he says in the *Trialogus*, "Balbutiunt illi grossi Simoniaci, quod putant erui vel vendi gratiam sicut bos vel asinus possit emi."

[3] "Christus enim in propria persona est signum sensibile et ut videtur mihi sacramentum sacramentorum, cum sibi summe conveniat descripti sacramenti." *Trialogus*, 283.

[4] Vaughan, 30.

transubstantiation attempted to guard against by separating from the outward accidents the inward change. Wyclif by abolishing this separation and declaring the presence to be thereby not the whole was, it was alleged, though he would not have admitted the charge, paving the way to an identification of the elements and the body of Christ. This is worth mentioning, as it demonstrates a fact often forgotten by Protestant controversialists that transubstantiation properly explained may be false but is not materialistic. The restricting the sacrament to one kind is another safeguard of this. Too often opposition to Roman doctrine takes the form of attacking the idea not of transubstantiation but "transaccidentation [1]."

His economic views again are largely modern. Although affecting to despise wealth, he has a good deal of the "economic man's" dislike of all forms of activity and all modes of life that are not productive. That a beautiful building may outweigh in value a thousand times the cost of erecting it, he does not consider. It was the strength of the middle ages to know this. His conception of the use of wealth is very modern and utilitarian. A high utilitarianism doubtless. But still at bottom that. So, indeed, really are some of his arguments about legality. This comes out in his argument about the right of John of Gaunt to violate sanctuary [2].

[1] These passages are so interesting as to be worth quoting: "Non tamen vulgariter et coram laicis conceditur communiter videri aut sentiri, nisi cum hac determinatione, in forma et specie panis; *ne populus pronus ad idolatriam nesciens distinguere inter sensibile in se et sensibile in alio credat* speciem panis, aut aliud quod immediate et in se sentitur esse corpus Christi; et sic ut dictum est turpiter paganizent." *Tyssington Confessio*, Shirley, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, 173.

"Considerent secundo quod cum populus Christianorum nescit concipere per esse nisi unico modo, videlicet existere vel esse ab essentia, nec intelligunt talem tropum; et stante isto conceptu, si informentur quod panis manet et est corpus Christi, concipient quod identice est corpus Christi et turpius paganizabunt, quam hi qui dicuntur primum animal quod vident in die colere tanquam Deum." Ibid. 178. Cf. also Wynterton's *Tractatus*, ibid. 188, 193.

[2] Can it be that the idea of this in International Law was really derived from clerical immunities? There are some phrases in Suarez' defence of the Pope against Venice which suggest the view.

This argument indeed illustrates most of his ideas about the state. We see there the thoroughly modern view of subjecting all private law and special concession to the state. We see his dislike of ecclesiastical power; his distrust of the "extra-territoriality" developed by the Papal system; and above all, sense of expediency[1]. It is, indeed, the post-Reformation view of the state which he upheld. This defence of an outrage, which was really a defiance of all law by a powerful noble, is a genuine blot on Wyclif's fame. Even if it were right to violate a recognized legal privilege, and Wyclif quite fails to prove this, the disgraceful murder by which it was accomplished ought to have met with his condemnation. But Wyclif, no more than Knox or the Jesuits, was superior to considerations of expediency in such matters. Still, the whole transaction symbolizes that alliance between the aristocracy and the reformers, which in Germany, in France, in England, and in Scotland was responsible for some of the uglier aspects of the Reformation. This is the real political aim of Wyclif, and not an imaginary communism. Practically, like Luther, he was on the side of the state against the Church, and of the lay lords against the people. He declares that lords ought to be rich and powerful[2]—and all his activities were at least as much aristocratic as demagogic. He disbelieved in election, and had no faith in the *vox populi*[3]. He is modern again, in his individualism, and his desire to bring everything to the test of practical utility. With the religious imagination as

[1] Wyclif argues "de iure nature" on his side as against the particular legality claimed for the Sanctuary. "Frustra invocat legis auxilium qui offendit eam, *sed dicti fugitivi rebellando offenderunt in legem Dei, ecclesie, et in legem regni, ergo ius tum est pro tempore sue obstinacie quod careant in omnibus istis legis suffragio.*" *De Ecclesia*, 149.

These principles might justify any act of tyranny, and if carried out to a logical extreme are destructive of all law, except reason of state.

[2] "Sicut unum deitas coercet homines dando illis rerum affluenciam, et immiscet quodam modo potentiam coactivam." *Speculum*, 2. The effect of his writings would have been greatly to diminish the clergy, and to mitigate the lot of the peasant a little. But that any direct results would have been of a levelling sort is impossible.

[3] This is due to his dislike of the rule of the elected ecclesiastical authorities. But he is lavish of contempt for this mode of securing

such he had little sympathy, and there is no strain of mysticism in his writings [1].

In another respect he was more modern than mediaeval. He heralded the fashion of seeking the essence of Christianity in its origins. He will have nothing to do with the developed organism, but strives to learn its nature from the embryo. In this regard his views are unhistorical, critical, negative. The problem he sets himself was at bottom that of Harnack, to disengage the essence of Christianity from its accretions by a reversion to the words of the Founder. Like all modern critics, whether of the right or the left wing, he tends to substitute for an institution the worship of a Person. In so doing he of necessity ignored a great deal; and of course depreciated everything later than the first century. That a doctrine or a ceremony or an institution was actually developed was, in his view, an argument against it. The Catholic ideal, whatever its faults, is based on a philosophy of history. In Wyclif, as in many other Protestants, there is no sense of the providential ordering of the course of human life; and the influence of the Holy Spirit on the governing society is practically treated as non-existent [2]. The divine power in human history is regarded as a gift to one particular race, or even isolated to a few years. One of the worst services of Protestantism to human thought has been this isolation of God's work to the life of our Lord and His Apostles, whose

a governor and says it is "saepe dampnabilis." Polemical Works, ii. 474. He denies even the right of the whole Church consenting to found a monarchy of the Papalist sort. God Himself can grant no rights that are beyond charity. Again, "Cardinales tam stolide et frontose eligentes hominem in Christi vicarium eligant unum diabolum ex sua superbia profundius condemnandum."

[1] Here again we must not forget that Wyclif was strongly imbued with the solidarity of human interests. He distinctly argues against the notion that we are not mutually responsible. "Talis enim est armonia existentium in gracia quod quilibet modus vel accio corporalis iuvat quemlibet, quantumcunque distiterit." *De Civ. Dom.* 146. He is at pains carefully to explain "Titulo gratiae iustorum sunt omnia sed longe ab illo titulo civilis possessio." *Trialogus*, 306.

[2] Strangely enough he seems to have felt that the doctrine of the Incarnation was a development (*De Ben. Inc.* 9). But all other developments in the Church he repudiated as misleading.

unique authority is thus separated from the whole of history before or since, with too often the practical effects of substituting for faith in a Living Power belief in a long ago completed transaction. Although neither Wyclif nor his successors held this view in terms, he heralded it. Nor are we yet recovered from the prejudice which the mode of thought has awakened against Christianity in days when development is a dominant category. The real force of the appeal of Newman to his contemporaries lay in his recognition of this principle at the very moment when without such recognition a reflecting faith was becoming impossible. But Wyclif is not to be blamed. The mediaeval Church had become so overlaid with local and contemporary accretions that some such "critical regress" as he instituted was a necessity. Still it is a fact that this way of regarding human affairs banished God from history, and reached its culmination in eighteenth-century Deism.

IV. It only remains to consider how far Wyclif was successful. As we saw, his immediate success was amazing. His followers were numerous and influential, his fame was great; and the Church however hostile was unable to lift a finger against his person, or even to deprive him of his preferment. Yet, whatever deductions be made, it is the case that Lollardism was soon emptied of its political and social force, and only in isolated individuals did the ideas survive[1]. The Hussite movement, indeed, owed nearly everything to his writings. Wyclif was as much superior to Hus as an original thinker, as he was his inferior in personal charm. Hus was the most lovable of men. Hence, if the Hussites be regarded as preparing the way for Luther, Wyclif may be held to be the grandsire of the Reformation. Yet he cannot be called successful in the way in which Luther and Calvin had success. How was this? I think that the causes are as follows:—

(1) He was too revolutionary. He wrote, we must remember, at the beginning not at the end of the schism; the line of

[1] On this point see G. M. Trevelyan, *The Age of Wycliffe*, ch. IX. Mr. Trevelyan states at its very highest the amount of Lollardy that lingered on in England.

Roman popes, commencing with Urban VI, was an attempt (sorry enough!) at a return to nobler aims. No one could tell at Wyclif's death that the schism was to last so long. At such a time men were not yet ripe for a complete breach with the past. Besides, as I have tried to point out, Wyclif desired a much more absolute breach, than as a matter of fact took place anywhere, or indeed ever can take place. Moreover, he had rivals. The mediaeval ideals, whether of Church or state, were becoming so false not only to fact, but even to possibility, that they must inevitably ere long disappear even as an aspiration[1]. But that was not yet. Men were not prepared to give up the hope of reform from within under the guidance of the better sort among the clergy. To the common consciousness there must have seemed far more practical chance in a scheme of conservative reform, like that which had its centre in Paris, than in such a brand new establishment as that demanded by the Oxford doctor. We know that it came to nothing. The efforts of the conciliar party at Constance and Basle were entirely futile except on the conservative side. The burning of John Hus and the condemnation of Jean Petit were not exactly triumphs for those who desired progress in either spiritual or political affairs. The Papacy proved at once triumphant and incorrigible. The attempt to turn the Church into a "mixed monarchy" or, as we should say, a constitutional government, was more futile than the constitution that "would not march" devised by other Frenchmen centuries after. The failure of the Conciliar movement and the increasing secularization of the Papacy are some justification of Luther. No amount of presumption in favour of a peaceful reform is proof against the actual evidence that it was impossible. But this fact, even if it were foreseen by Wyclif, was not realized. Men might be excused for declining the offer of drastic measures, until events had proved the futility of anything else. We do not

[1] The Roman Church since the Counter-Reformation, is not really more mediaeval than Protestantism and less so than some aspects of it. The electric light of the Vatican is a symbol of much.

blame Halifax for resisting the Exclusion Bill as revolutionary, because afterwards the character of James rendered the revolution a necessity. Neither ought we to blame the contemporaries and immediate posterity of Wyclif for refusing to move as rapidly as he desired.

Further, Wyclif's scheme had the faults of a merely critical and negative character. He was not strong on the constructive side. His power lay in opposition. He could denounce the errors, the absurdities, the hypocrisy, the secularity, the money-grubbing of the existing system. But he had no workable plan to substitute for it. He was as I said ecclesiastically an anarchist. He had little or no conception of order. He was so opposed to any overweening authority, that he seems to have hardly a notion of the necessity for organization. Even in regard to the state, some of his views if literally followed would lead to anarchy. He was, in fact, an idealist, not a constructor; a prophet, not a statesman; a critic, not a confounder: he had little notion of the relation of means to ends. He liked the *rôle* of one crying in the wilderness. Too much of an individualist to give birth to an enduring society, or to devise a practicable scheme of government, he was content to be the mouthpiece of ideas which later ages could manipulate for immediate ends.

Even on the spiritual side his power is negative. He had not the positive driving power with which the doctrine of justification by faith furnished Luther. There is no trace of his ever having paused through a spiritual crisis—and spite of his strong hold on the "inwardness" of the religious life, he was never able to give to his conception the form which was practically effective. His intense repudiation of all notions of "assurance" may be justifiable logically. But that sentiment is an enormous power where it can be used. A certain coldness of temper, an intellectual hardness so different from the warmth and human sympathies of Luther it is, I think, possible to discern. These things may have added to his power of intellectual insight, but they probably decreased his influence on popular feeling during the next century. In some respects he saw beyond

the Reformers; for that very reason he could not lead men so effectively or so far.

He was, in fact, what Knighton, quoting Richard of Sancte Amore, calls him, the handwriting on the wall. He stood at the end of an age. He heralded the broken unity, which since then has been the product of intensified national consciousness, and reduced the term Christendom to a meaningless anachronism. He was a prophet of the days when the flights of religious imagination should be checked in favour of the insistence on moral and practical ends; and on the limitation of religious authority to the needs of man, not of man's nature to the convenience of ecclesiastical policy; and on the moralization of the secular life of man whether collective or individual, which is the highest aim of the modern. Wyclif's direct and immediate success was insignificant and transitory, but he remains the prophet of a new age. His ideas are still fruitful. Such events as happened but lately in Italy are evidence that they have not exhausted their practical force or found their complete fruition even after five centuries of struggle. He remains to all time the confident, if unattractive assertor of the truth that alike in religion, in politics, in private life, in the last resort, right is limited by righteousness.

The personality of Wyclif is difficult to represent to ourselves. We have no life of him. His own works which are anything but self-revealing, in the sense of Augustine and Luther or Newman, and the narratives written by his enemies, are our sole source of information. We know, therefore, little or nothing that enables us to imagine him. But it is not possible to read his writings without forming certain impressions. These, so far as they concern his governing principles, I have already attempted to lay bare. But it may be well to say a few words expressing such notion of the man as seems possible to form. In Wyclif we seem to see a man of strong, clear, and self-confident intelligence, with the daring and originality of true genius; with small reverence for anything that was established; a little hard and unsympathetic towards ideas and persons from whom he differed; endowed

with a moral and intellectual passion, ever seeking to penetrate between the shows of things to the reality; intent ever on the inward rather than the outward; with but slight sense of the value of external expression for religious ideas; intolerant of shams; and impatient of everything that savoured of the mercenary spirit; for this reason apt to belittle the value of all organization; with a strong feeling of the rights of the individual before God, and of the paramount claims of the state over all mere partial communities; a mind imbued with the power of observing existing evils,

> He laid his finger on the place
> And said thou ailest here and here;

to whom the authority of great names was as nothing, and even Scripture itself was useful as confirming conclusions really formed independently. Above all a man of intellectual vision, who could fashion the principles of an order that was the very opposite of that which he saw around him, to be the "fair beginning of a nobler time." In the present he found no inspiration, from the immediate past he found little guidance; for his ideals he was content to be one of those

> Who look before and after
> And pine for what is not.

In the shadowy unity of the mediaeval state-system he, unlike Dante, found no efficiency or life; the real unity of the Western Church was to his eyes the living death of unspiritual secularity. In a strong self-contained national state, in which all men should be equal before the law and all "private" authority should be subjected to direction or better extinguished, he saw the true path of salvation. The history not only of the Reformation, but of the Revolution, the Code Napoléon no less than the Confession of Augsburg, attest his greatness if not his sanctity [1].

[1] This Lecture was written and delivered in 1903. For this reason it contains no allusion either to Dr. Gardiner's book on Lollardy, or to Biggs' lecture on Wyclif; nor am I quite sure, that I should now write in precisely the same terms.

II

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM

BY

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WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM

William of Wykeham, unlike his great contemporary and rival Wyclif, has left scarcely any writings behind him; he remains, therefore, a somewhat shadowy character, lacking that sharpness of outline which the portrait of the great reformer and founder of Lollardy presents. Yet inasmuch as Wykeham played a distinguished, though not the leading part, in the history and politics of his time, and left two great foundations to perpetuate his memory, the main facts of his life have been sufficiently preserved. He was born in the year 1323, the eighteenth year of the reign of Edward II, and lived till the year 1404, long enough to see the House of Lancaster, in the person of Henry IV, firmly established on the throne. The eighty years of his life cover two sharply contrasted periods of English History. The early years of the reign of Edward III, the days of Wykeham's boyhood and early manhood, are among the most famous and prosperous in our annals. To them belong the great naval victory of Sluys which gave England for a time the command both of the Bay of Biscay and the Channel, and by land the famous victories of Crecy and Poitiers, in which the English archers overthrew the noblest chivalry of France. Edward III, still in the full vigour of his powers of body and mind, stood out pre-eminent among the sovereigns of Europe; and succeeded, with the help of his son, the Black Prince, perhaps the greatest captain of his age, in subduing and annexing the fairest provinces of western France. The second period begins with the year 1360, and the conclusion of the Peace of Bretigny; the first great public act in which, as one of the commissioners appointed by the king, Wykeham was sum-

moned to take a leading part. Almost immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, the face of things began to change. England had undertaken in the conquest of France a task beyond her powers, and paid the inevitable penalty for undertaking it. The interference of the Black Prince on behalf of Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, led in 1367 to the resumption of hostilities. France espoused the cause of Pedro's rival, Henry of Trastamare; and, although the victory of Navarette was followed by the restoration of Pedro (1367), the English success was only temporary. A rebellion broke out in Gascony in 1368 and was supported by Charles V of France. In 1372, Henry of Trastamare and the French defeated the English in a naval battle at Rochelle, while, on land, the French attempted to starve the English armies and harassed them by a guerilla warfare. The result was that in the years which followed England had to watch while one of the newly conquered provinces after another was torn out of her reluctant but powerless grasp, and even to submit to the invasion and harrying of her own coasts. And as the long reign of Edward III neared its close, its glory set among clouds of disaster and disgrace. Premature dotage overtook the once active and vigorous king; and he sank under the influence of predominant politicians, designing favourites and an unworthy woman. His son, the Black Prince, the darling of the nation (whose revered and untouched tomb at Canterbury, still attests the honour in which his own and all subsequent generations have held him), on whose accession such bright hopes had been built, sank through a painful and mortal illness into an untimely grave, and left only a mere child to succeed to his grandfather's throne. Pestilence again followed on pestilence in these disastrous years; and internal revolt and sedition, culminating in the Peasants' Rising of 1381, stalked hard on the heels of pestilence. The internal factions by which during the greater part of Richard II's reign the country was rent, added to the general demoralization; and things down to the end of the century continued to go from bad to worse. Nor was the condition of the Church more prosperous in these dark days than that of the state at large.

The Papacy, weakened at its centre by its removal to Avignon and by the great schism which followed upon its return to Rome, no longer commanded the worldwide influence and unquestioning obedience which in the two preceding centuries it had enjoyed. England in particular had ceased to respect an institution, which was now no more sovereign and independent but had sunk into the position of a mere tool of France; while the people objected to paying to foreigners large sums of money which were only too likely to be used against themselves. As a natural consequence statutes of "Provisors" and "Praemunire," both directed to limit the powers of the Pope in England, were passed with general applause. Within the kingdom the ranks of the clergy had been greatly thinned by the ravages of the Black Death; and the jealousy of the friars against the monks, and of both against the secular clergy, caused the Church to present a divided, and so a weakened, front to its many opponents. Laymen again had begun to grow jealous of the monopoly of learning and of civil and administrative positions hitherto enjoyed by the clergy; and were claiming to be admitted to equal privileges with them. The great possessions of the Church were not unnaturally, perhaps not unjustifiably, exciting the greed of the laity; and the demand set up by Wyclif for the Church's disendowment found not a few, besides John of Gaunt, who favoured it, both within, and outside of, Parliament. Nor were the more spiritual powers to which the Church laid claim—the exacting of confessions and of penance, the pronouncement of absolution and excommunication—left altogether unchallenged. Wyclif, in protesting against them and in seeking to set limits to their exercise, was probably the spokesman of unuttered thoughts which were fermenting in many minds; and even his crowning heresy, the attack on the doctrine of Transubstantiation, met with not a few secret, and some even open, sympathizers. Thus from many quarters and in many directions was the authority of the Church being silently, yet surely undermined.

Such were, roughly speaking, the circumstances of Wykeham's times; we have now to see how he bore himself in them.

Of the events of his early life it is impossible to speak at length, for the sufficient reason that we know scarcely anything about them. All that we can say is that he was born at the village of Wickham near Fareham in Hampshire, from which he took his name; (the names of all who were not noble being at that time either local appellations, much as to-day people in Scotland are called by the names of their estates or farms, or derived from the trade or occupation which the bearer of them followed). His parents were of humble station belonging apparently to the superior yeoman class; though there is a statement, not however supported by much evidence, that his mother was gentle born. That he was a boy of parts is shown by the fact that some patron (perhaps, according to the traditional view, Bishop Edingdon, but more probably one of those for whom in after years he directed that masses should be offered and prayers said), thought it worth while to have him educated and sent to school. Mr. Leach has given reasons for thinking that the school chosen may have been the High School at Winchester; though the information on this point in the two early biographies of him is not very explicit. That part of his youth was passed at Winchester is, however, beyond dispute. At school he acquitted himself so well that he was taken into the service of the Constable of Winchester, and two years later was transferred to that of the king. This event took place in 1347, when Wykeham was twenty-three, the year in which Edward III returned from France after successfully completing the siege of Calais. Once entered into King Edward's household his promotion, though not at first very rapid, was certain and continuous. He seems to have been employed in keeping the king's accounts, looking after his manors and repairing, and, where necessary, rebuilding, the royal castles. On two works in particular we know him to have been employed, the construction of the king's new castle at Queenborough, near the mouth of the Thames in Kent, and the reconstruction of Windsor Castle. On the tower, at this latter place, which still bears his name, he is said to have inscribed, in true mediaeval fashion, the ambiguous words "Hoc fecit

Wykeham," words which leave it doubtful whether he meant to say he made the tower or the tower was the making of him. We hear also of his acting as surveyor of other royal castles, Henley, Leeds in Kent, Dover, Hadleigh and Easthampstead. From 1360 onwards he was promoted to more important offices; in 1360 he was nominated one of the six commissioners for negotiating the Peace of Bretigny; in 1361 he was made warden, along with Peter Atwood, of all the forests south of Trent; in 1364 he was appointed keeper of the Privy Seal; in 1365 he acted as a commissioner to settle the terms of a truce with Scotland; and finally in 1367, after his appointment to the see of Winchester, he became Lord Chancellor. For these various services he was rewarded by a number of ecclesiastical preferments, the history of which is, to a large extent, the history of a long struggle between the Pope and the king, the Papal, and what has been called the National, party in the English Church. The quarrel over appointments to Church offices had at this time entered on an acute stage.

The Pope had long claimed, and since Becket's time had largely exercised, the appointment to bishoprics, canonries, prebendal stalls, and indeed almost all the higher ecclesiastical offices in England. As was natural, he filled them usually with his own friends and adherents, who were for the most part foreigners. This monopolizing of the higher ecclesiastical offices by foreigners had all along been a grievance alike to the English Church and nation. It drained the country of large sums of money; while those appointed were mostly non-resident; and, even if they resided, had little sympathy with the people to whom they were supposed to minister. Protests against the system had already been raised in the previous century by Bishop Grosteste, of Lincoln; and complaints on the same subject had since his time never ceased to be heard. In the reign of Edward III the evil became more crying, since the men selected for promotion were to a large extent pensioners of a Pope who was himself dependent on the French king; and the money drained out of the country might be, and frequently was, employed in subsidizing those

who were the country's enemies. So the king set himself in the forefront of a national movement, directed to limit the power of the Pope and the privileges which he enjoyed within the realm. The measures taken had two objects in view—to curtail the Pope's patronage, and to abolish the appeal, which was supposed to lie in ecclesiastical cases, from the king's courts to his. The first of these objects it was sought to attain by proclamations and statutes against "Provisors," the second by the statute of "Praemunire." The statutes of provisors were directed against the claim which the Pope set up to "provide for" his favourites or persons recommended to him, by promising to appoint them to benefices not yet vacant. In this way he attempted to secure for himself the patronage whenever a vacancy might occur; and the king could not, even if the presentation fell to him, appoint to the benefice, because the Pope had already promised it. Such a course was now declared illegal; and penalties were imposed on those who should aid the Pope in "providing for" his nominees by giving them the promise of the appointment to benefices, when a vacancy should occur. The Statute of Praemunire imposed heavy penalties on any one who should carry into the jurisdiction of a foreign court any case which had been tried in the king's courts or was capable of being so tried. But the king did not limit his opposition to the Pope's claims to passing general statutes against them; he opposed him also in the case of particular exercises of patronage. The quarrel between them was largely fought out over preferments which were showered during these years on William of Wykeham. The Constitutions of Clarendon had provided that "when an archbishopric, or bishopric, or abbey, or priory, in the lordship of the king, be vacant, it ought to be in his hand and he shall receive from it all rents and profits as belonging to the lord." This had been construed by the king's party to mean that the king was entitled, on the occurrence of a vacancy, to fill up all offices to which the bishopric, abbey, or priory had the right of presentation. William of Wykeham accordingly received his first benefice from the king, that of the living of Irstead in Norfolk, during

a vacancy in the office of abbot to which the presentation belonged. This occurred in 1346. The next instance was far more critical. Edward had deprived Lisle, bishop of Ely, of the temporalities of his see; and taking advantage of the vacancy thus created, presented Wykeham to the rich living of Pulham, which was in the bishop's gift. The bishop appealed to the Pope, and even prosecuted Wykeham before the papal court for unlawful retention of the living. Before the matter was settled Lisle had died; and Wykeham was thereupon confirmed in the living by the king during the undoubted vacancy in the bishopric. In allowing himself to be put forward in this marked fashion, Wykeham proclaimed himself a staunch adherent of the king, and of what we may call the national party, against all papal aggression. Nor did the matter even rest here. In 1359 he further accepted from Edward a stall in Lichfield Cathedral, also during a disputed vacancy in the see; and though he afterwards exchanged this stall for one in Southwell Church, this by no means did away with the effect of his original acceptance of the office. All this had taken place, it is to be observed, while Wykeham was still in minor orders; for it was not till 1361 that he was admitted acolyte. In 1362 he was ordained sub-deacon, and finally priest in June of the same year. But before he had attained to this latter position preferments had been showered thick upon him. The fresh outbreak of the Black Death in 1361 had fallen with exceptional severity upon the clergy. In every part of the country Church offices had become vacant; and there were often no suitable candidates to fill the places of those who had died. The king, accordingly, seized the opportunity to heap preferments on the man he delighted to honour and wished to enrich. In 1361 Wykeham was presented to no fewer than nine prebends; and in 1363 to four more, together with the archdeaconry of Northampton, afterwards exchanged by him for that of Lincoln. It was at this point that the new Pope, Urban V, again interfered. Enraged apparently by the fresh laws respecting provisors and praemunire, in the passing of which Wykeham, who was now Privy Seal, must have had a hand, he first of all required

that Wykeham should be examined before being admitted to a fresh prebendal stall, to which the king was on the point of presenting him; and then fulminated in more general terms—not one would think without cause—against the abuse of pluralities. He required that all persons enjoying pluralities should appear before their diocesan within six months, bringing with them an exact list in writing of all the offices they held. This list was by the bishop of the diocese to be submitted to the metropolitan, who in his turn was to forward it to the Pope. With this order Wykeham thought it prudent to comply. In his return, presented to Sudbury, bishop of London, in 1366, he states that he has one benefice with cure of souls—the archdeaconry of Lincoln—that he has eleven benefices without cure, and that he has resigned the Cornish living of Menheniot, which he had previously held by dispensation from the Pope. The return thus made is a remarkable document from several points of view. It represents a vast accumulation of wealth in Wykeham's hands, for many of the offices held by him were of great value; and though it showed that Wykeham had not contravened the ecclesiastical law, since by that no limit was set to the accumulation of offices which did not involve a cure of souls (and to his archdeaconry alone was such a cure attached), yet it seems to have revealed an extreme case of the application of the principle of payment for secular services by the acceptance of ecclesiastical preferments. And though in the acceptance of such gifts at the hands of the king it must be admitted that Wykeham showed himself in no wise superior to the general moral standard of the age in which he lived, yet there was much which might be urged to excuse him for falling in with the practice; for almost all civil offices had then to be, from the necessities of the case, in the hands of clerics; and the most natural form in which payments could be made to such persons for services which they had rendered was by the conferring on them of benefices not involving a cure of souls, benefices of which they might be well regarded as the most fitting recipients. In Wykeham's case, two other considerations combined to make this vast accumulation of such offices

in his hands more excusable. In the first place, as we have already seen, he had allowed himself to be put forward as the representative of a principle—the principle, namely, that Church preferment was a national rather than a universal heritage, one to be conferred on English citizens rather than on the alien favourites of distant Popes. To assert this principle, and to allow himself to be the instrument for bearding the Pope while the Papacy was still a power and reality, required no little courage; and Wykeham may well have been at times a reluctant instrument in enforcing a particular application of a principle, which he yet conscientiously approved as a whole. Another plea which may be fairly urged in extenuation of an adverse judgement is to be found in the peculiar circumstances of the times in which he received the many offices showered upon him. The havoc which the Black Death had caused among the clergy had made it impossible satisfactorily to fill the many vacancies which occurred in those years. The king on his part may have felt, and Wykeham have acquiesced in his judgement, that the best use to which he could put the many pieces of preferment which fell into his hands, was to bestow them on one in whose zeal and ability he placed great reliance—one who was not likely to put the revenue so obtained to any unworthy or unpatriotic use. It is at least worth notice, that the number of preferments which Wykeham had held was never, in his lifetime and in his own country, made a ground of complaint against him; nor did it, even when Lancaster was most bitter against him, cause him to forfeit the affection and good will either of his fellow ecclesiastics or of his fellow countrymen at large.

The last occasion on which Wykeham and the Pope came into direct conflict was at the time of his nomination to the see of Winchester, vacant by the death of Bishop Edingdon. The general understanding between the Pope and the king about bishoprics, at this time, seems to have been that when a see was to be filled up by a fresh appointment, the king was to be allowed to exercise an unfettered choice; while the Pope was given a certain discretionary power in the case of collation from one diocese to another. In the present instance,

since Wykeham was a fresh appointment, there was no room for direct interference on the part of the Pope; but since his formal consent was required before the appointment became fully valid, there was an opening for some indirect opposition. When all the necessary formalities of election by the chapter had been duly completed and a letter had been received from the king requesting the Pope to give leave for Wykeham's consecration, the Pope wrote in reply accepting him; not however as bishop of the diocese but merely as guardian of the spiritualities and temporalities of the see; an office to which, while the see was vacant, he had been already appointed by the king. It was not till some months later, and after the king had dispatched, according to Froissart, the duke of Bourbon as a special envoy to make the request, that Wykeham's appointment might be approved without further delay, that the Pope, who was then on his way back from Avignon to Rome, gave at Viterbo his final sanction to his appointment. It was in 1367 after the Pope's sanction to his holding the bishopric had been received that Wykeham was, as already stated, called by the king to the chancellorship, Bishop Brantingham of Exeter being associated with him as Lord High Treasurer.

For four eventful years he continued to hold the Great Seal and to direct, virtually as prime-minister, the affairs of the kingdom; they were years, it must be confessed, of disaster, not of glory and success. During them there broke out, first war with Spain, and then a renewal of the war with France; and in both countries the English arms met with reverses. In the first place, a coalition effected between France and Spain (in which latter country, a candidate hostile to the English cause had been allowed to occupy the throne of Castile) placed the English fleet almost at the mercy of the combined navies. Then Ponthieu, the outlying province in the north, was lost, owing to the government, it was alleged, having insufficiently garrisoned it; while finally in 1370 the southern province of Guienne, where the Black Prince himself was in command, was invaded by the French under Du Guesclin; and the Prince, now weakened by disease and unnerved by

disaster, if not actually compelled to quit the country, thought it more prudent to retire to England, leaving his brother, John of Gaunt, to command in his stead.

That these disasters were not due, solely or principally, to the incompetence of the clerical ministry of which Wykeham was the head, is clear from the fact that even worse misfortunes befell the country under the lay ministry by which it was succeeded. Indeed the task which England had undertaken, that of holding down by force nearly one-third of France, was quite beyond her powers in the then state of her population, organization, and resources. She had neither the men, the money, nor the ships necessary for so vast an enterprise. Yet the country was unwilling to admit this patent fact; and so it was inevitable that the blame of failure should in the first instance be laid at the door of the ministry under whose auspices the renewal of the war had occurred. The ministry being entirely clerical, it was only natural to argue that clerics were unfit to carry on extensive warlike operations. Nor must we forget that there was in addition growing up at the time a widely spread feeling against the exclusive employment of clerics in important secular posts. While this was in part due to the increasing jealousy felt against the predominant influence and wealth of the Church, it partly also arose from the feeling that bishops and other Church dignitaries were diverted from the proper performance of their spiritual functions by their immersion in secular affairs. This was an evil which Wycliffe was always denouncing; and, indeed, the neglect of such properly spiritual duties as confirmation and ordination by the diocesan bishops, busy with affairs of state, did constitute, as Mr. Wakeman has pointed out, one of the crying evils of the fourteenth century.

It need not surprise us, then, such being the prevailing feeling and temper of the time, that when Parliament met in 1371 the Commons, not content with their demand that the king should dismiss the ministers who might be supposed to be responsible for the late disasters, further petitioned "that because it has been shown to the king that the government of the kingdom has long been worked by men of holy

Church, who are not responsible to justice in every case, whereby great damages have happened and will again happen . . . may it please the king that sufficient and able laymen of the same kingdom be chosen, and no other persons be henceforth made Chancellor, Treasurer, Clerk of Privy Seal, Chamberlain of Exchequer, Controller, or to fulfill any other office or government in the said kingdom."

The king, while dismissing his ministers, refused, as he could scarcely fail to do, to listen to the more general demand; answering on this point "that he would ordain as seemed to him best with the advice of his good council." As a matter of fact, so exclusively was education still the possession of clerics that it would have been difficult to find a succession of laymen fit to carry on the government; this the country was still to realize.

In the years which followed his fall two interests mainly monopolized Wykeham's attention—the administration of his diocese, and the foundation of his colleges. The chief points with respect to his diocese which occupied his thoughts were the repair and restoration of his various manor houses, and the rectification of the many abuses which his visitation, conducted two years after his downfall, disclosed. The case of the mastership of St. Cross, which plays so prominent a part in the years 1372, 1373, was typical, probably, of abuses which had to be inquired into and reformed in every part of his diocese. To such matters Wykeham devoted himself during these years with energy and success. At the same time his thoughts were turning to the foundation of his "new college" at Oxford and of its sister college at Winchester; for it seems more probable that from the first he contemplated the joint foundation than that Winchester was an after-thought. Yet, inasmuch as the giving a University education to his scholars was the ultimate aim which he had in view, it was to his Oxford college that his thoughts first turned, and on that that he commenced operations. As early as the year 1369 he had begun to buy up land in the parish of St. Peter in the East, and this process was continued for several years subsequently. His next step was to obtain

from the Pope and the king grants of tithe and advowsons, taken in a good many cases from alien foundations, with which to endow his new college; while thirdly he gathered together a band of poor scholars whom he placed under a Warden and distributed in the neighbouring halls of the University till such time as their new home should be ready for them. These he supported entirely at his own expense out of the great wealth he had now accumulated.

He himself tells in one of his statutes that he had long hesitated as to the form which his munificence should take, the hesitation being caused by the wide-spread neglect which he observed everywhere, of the rules, ordinances, and statutes which founders had laid down, and the consequent perversion of endowments to quite other objects than those for which they had been originally intended. At last, however, inspired by the hope "that men steeped in learning and different sciences, will keep God before their eyes, and will look more closely than others at His will as to observing rules, ordinances, and statutes, he had unalterably fixed his mind's eye towards the relief of poor clerical scholars, while in the Schools; and has finally determined to spend his means and pains on this object to the best of his power."

Many motives must have combined to foster this resolve.

(1) To some extent the particular direction which munificence shall take is determined by the pressing needs and prevailing ideas of the times in which the benefactor lives. Ever since a century earlier Walter de Merton had established his college, the notion of founding a college at one or other of the Universities had taken possession of men's minds as a laudable object of ambition, and the wealth which in earlier days would probably have been devoted to founding a monastery, was now given to found a secular college. Thus at Oxford alone there had already grown up since Merton—University, Balliol, Oriel, and Queen's. Wykeham's foundation differed from its predecessors only, first, in the vaster and more magnificent scale on which it was conceived; secondly, in the more distinctly religious character which he sought to impart to it, making it combine to some extent the character

of a chantry with that of a college. Thirdly, he desired at the same time that his students should be trained not merely as "artists," but as lawyers, doctors, and even as astronomers as well; while fourthly, he was an innovator in the close conjunction he contemplated with the nursing and sister foundation at Winchester, the combination of school and college being, if not absolutely new, at least a comparative novelty in those days.

(2) But if the idea of founding a college was thus, so to speak, in the air, two other causes must have tended to commend the idea to Wykeham at this particular time. We have already spoken of the havoc which the two great visitations of the black death in 1348 and 1361 had wrought in the ranks of the clergy. The consequent scarcity of clergy must have been brought home to Wykeham by the facts of his own life and even more by his experience as a diocesan bishop. It was difficult to find any clergy to fill the many posts that were vacant, impossible to find good ones. To increase the supply of clergy was clearly one object which Wykeham had in founding his college.

(3) But it was not only an adequate number of clergy, but still more an adequate supply of *learned* and *educated* clergy that he aimed at securing. The unquestioned supremacy of the Church and the clerical office was, as we have seen, from various causes, passing away. Wyclif's new doctrines were also beginning at this very time to threaten the authority of the clergy. Wykeham held, and held rightly, that, if the Church was to retain her influence, and the clergy to fulfil the part which they ought to sustain in the national life, it could only be by the help of learning and education, diffused throughout that body, that this could be effected. And so he sought to train up in his colleges a body of learned clergy capable of meeting the new needs of the time.

This work, however, was interrupted by a sudden and unlooked for storm which compelled him for a time to abandon it altogether. The experiment of substituting a lay for a clerical ministry had proved, when first made, by no means a success. Sir John Thorpe and Lord Scrope, who succeeded

Wykeham and Brantingham as Chancellor and Treasurer, began by grossly overestimating the number of parishes in England; and raised in consequence a revenue wholly inadequate to meet the pressing needs of the country. They had, therefore, to call in Wykeham and some of his clerical colleagues to set right the mistake into which they had fallen. John of Gaunt, who had now taken over the command of the war in France, carried it on with even less success than his predecessor had done. After a disastrous march through France, in which he lost almost his whole army, he was forced to return to England. The French king, thereupon, not only regained all the provinces (with the single exception of Calais) which the English had taken, but was able to threaten England itself with invasion. Returned home, Lancaster became virtual head of the ministry, but used his power to fill every place of trust and importance with unscrupulous favourites and adherents of his own. High-handed corruption and open spoliation and robbery prevailed in these years to an extent which fortunately finds few parallels in English history. So when Parliament assembled in 1376, the Commons, having appointed four Bishops and four Lords to aid them in their counsels, resolved on the impeachment of some of the most guilty of Lancaster's adherents. The two chosen for special attack were Mr. Richard Lyons, a merchant of London, who, called in to manage the finances of the country by John of Gaunt, had by means of peculation and high-handed robbery amassed a great fortune for himself; and Lord Latimer, who had abused his high place in the counsels of the party, also to acquire personal wealth and influence. Lyons was condemned and ordered to pay a heavy fine, to be deprived of his franchise as citizen of London, and to be detained in prison during the king's pleasure: Lord Latimer, who, in addition to other misdemeanours, was accused of having sold to the enemy two of the English strongholds in the north of France, though acquitted of this latter charge, was condemned for the peculation of which he had been notoriously guilty, was deprived of all his perquisites and offices, and had his name struck off the king's Privy Council. One other offender was at the same

time brought to justice, Alice Perrers, who by her personal charms had infatuated the king in his old age, and had employed the ascendancy she had obtained, to amass riches for herself, to interfere with the course of justice, and to secure court influence and positions for her favourites. She, under pressure of public opinion, was summoned before the Lords by John of Gaunt himself, deprived of her position at Court, and made to swear not to approach the king again; under penalty, if she broke her oath, of excommunication, banishment from the country, and confiscation of all her goods.

In these and similar acts of the "Good Parliament" (as it was called from the thoroughness of the reforms which it initiated), William of Wykeham took an energetic and even a leading part. In the impeachment of Latimer, in particular, he had been specially active; and so, when the Parliament, before dispersing, was making arrangements for carrying on the government in the succeeding year, and for filling up the gap which the death of the Black Prince had caused, Wykeham was chosen a member of the permanent council, by whom it was hoped that the king might be directed and controlled, and the vaulting ambition of John of Gaunt be curbed and restrained. That the Bishop of Winchester should have been chosen to fill so responsible a post is a proof that the feeling against him which had caused his removal from office, six years previously, can have been neither deep-rooted nor long sustained.

Yet the precautions taken by the Good Parliament for securing the permanence of its work proved unavailing. When once Parliament was dissolved, John of Gaunt soon showed himself more than a match for all his opponents. His influence with the king had never been seriously shaken; and now that the Black Prince had been removed by death, there was no one left to dispute it with him. The unsatisfactory answers returned by the king to the last batch of petitions presented by the Good Parliament seem to have been virtually dictated by him. And as soon as the Parliament had dispersed, the king, acting apparently on his advice, after recalling Lord

Latimer in the teeth of the Commons' dismissal, and receiving Alice Perrers back into full favour, proceeded further to dissolve the council which the House of Commons had so recently appointed to direct and control him. These strong steps John of Gaunt was enabled to carry through because he had succeeded in persuading three of his principal opponents—Lord Percy, the leader of the opposition in the late Parliament, together with the Earls of Arundel and Stafford—to desert the popular cause and throw in their lot with him. This point secured, his next move was to strike a retaliatory blow, and to take vengeance on some of those who had played the leading part in bringing his associates to justice. Peter de la Mare, the Speaker of the Good Parliament, was, without even pretence of trial, thrown into prison at Nottingham Castle; while Wykeham was brought before the Council on charges of malversation said to have been committed by him during his chancellorship ten years previously. These charges against Wykeham were probably intended as a set-off to the discredit which the recent condemnation of Latimer and his associates had brought upon the party of John of Gaunt. The trial was held in the early part of the year 1377 before a great council specially summoned for the purpose at Westminster. While on the more serious points in the indictment Wykeham was triumphantly acquitted, he was condemned on two minor counts of a technical kind, for the rebutting of which he had not, so he alleged, the necessary time allowed him for collecting evidence. As a punishment for these offences he was deprived of the temporalities of his see during the king's pleasure; and was so hunted about his own diocese by writs and summonses that he found himself constrained to disperse the sixty scholars whom he had collected at Oxford as the nucleus of his future college, since he had no longer the means to maintain them. In his condemnation the Bishop always maintained there had been a miscarriage of justice, and appealed at once against it. Edward himself gave some countenance to this contention by granting him a new trial, though this was never actually held in consequence of the king's speedy death. Certainly popular feeling

at the time seems to have been entirely on the bishop's side. Indeed, the people of London regarded Wykeham much in the same light that they regarded Peter de la Mare, and as they demanded that de la Mare should be released from prison, so they urged no less insistently that Wykeham should be granted a new trial. The clergy, as was natural, in their Convocation took even a stronger step. They refused to grant the ordinary supplies to the king till their grievances had been redressed; and the special grievance, on the redress of which they most urgently insisted, was the exclusion of William of Wykeham from their deliberations. The king, anxious as ever to get money, at last yielded to their importunity. Wykeham was allowed to return to London and to take his place in Convocation; and his reappearance there was welcomed by his fellow clergy with unbounded enthusiasm.

Some months, however, still elapsed before the temporalities of his see were restored to him—an act of tardy justice performed by the aged king almost on his deathbed. According to some authorities the restitution, when at length made, was due to the influence of Alice Perrers, whom Wykeham had importuned to intervene on his behalf. But there is only the weakest evidence for such a statement, which was in any case likely to be put forward by the Bishop's detractors. The more probable suggestion is that the concession was made by John of Gaunt to one who was certain to be powerful and influential in the days that were now fast approaching. For Wykeham had been left one of his executors by the Black Prince, and guardian of the boy who, on his grandfather's death, was now sure to be proclaimed king. As a matter of fact, one of the very first acts of the young Richard after his accession was to promulgate afresh the free pardon to Wykeham which Edward III had already granted; to restore him to all his possessions; and to attempt to effect a reconciliation between him and John of Gaunt, who on his part seems to have been not indisposed to listen to such overtures. These acts of the young king were immediately ratified by both Houses of Parliament; and Wykeham entered on the new reign restored to all his previous wealth and more than all his former influence.

As we enter, however, the reign of Richard II the main features of Wykeham's life lose even such distinctness of outline as they exhibit in the reign of Edward III. Two causes combined to bring about this result. In the first place, Wykeham, though he continued to take a prominent part in public affairs, no longer came forward as the head of a party; rather he takes up the rôle of a mediator between contending factions—a task which, if more useful, is also less conspicuous than that of a party leader. Genuinely attached to the boy king, whose guardian he had been left, he honestly endeavoured throughout his reign to save him, as far as he could, from the consequences of his own faults and follies. For a time he succeeded in effecting his object, and it was only when the king had shown himself utterly hopeless and unmanageable that he at last reluctantly abandoned him.

But, besides the character of the part he played, there was another cause which tended to blur the definiteness of the picture of Wykeham's public life—viz. the want of trustworthy materials for constructing the history of this time. Scarcely any period of English history still wants more light throwing upon it than does the reign of Richard II; and if darkness shrouds this part of the career of Wykeham, it shrouds equally the motives and careers of his most illustrious contemporaries.

But there was another and more personal cause which tended to increase the obscurity which hides his movements in the early years of the new reign. If we hear scarcely anything of him during the troublous times which culminated in the peasants' revolt and the subsequent suppression of it, the reason seems to be that he was during these years almost entirely immersed in the foundation and building of his colleges, and retired in consequence to a great extent from public life. That he should have been able to do this—that at a time when the archbishop was murdered, many abbots were being put to death and their monasteries sacked or burnt; when there was in parts of the country almost a general rising against the clergy who were landlords, even more than against the secular lords—that at such a time

Wykeham should have been left, as far as we know, unmolested in his diocese, and able to carry on, in the midst of the turmoil, the peaceful and beneficent works which occupied his attention—is probably to be attributed to the liberality with which he had always managed his episcopal estates and to the munificence with which he had relieved the necessities of his poorer neighbours. Gratitude thus furnished him with a shield which fear, and force of arms in many cases, failed to supply.

For it was in these eventful years that first New College and subsequently Winchester were designed and built. The purchase of the land on which New College stands was completed in 1378, the year after Richard's accession; the licence of the king to hold it was obtained early in 1379; and the charter of foundation of the college was granted in November of the same year. The title of the college, "The College of St. Mary Winton in Oxford," was set up, and the first stone laid on March 5, 1380; and for six full years after this the building continued without interruption. On the 14th of April, 1386, at nine o'clock in the morning, the warden and scholars took possession of their new home, walking in procession and singing the Litany, preceded by a cross-bearer. That home from that day to this they have continuously occupied. Three or four years later Wykeham completed his work by purchasing the sites of the halls in which his scholars had been lodged while his college was being prepared for them. On them he erected the cloisters; but these were not completed till the year 1400, near the close of his life.

Winchester came later than New College. The Papal Bull giving the bishop leave to build was not finally granted till 1380, and the king's licence to buy the land was not obtained till 1382. Even then Wykeham did not begin building at once, not indeed till March 26, 1387, a year after the completion of New College, probably because it was necessary to transport the master builder and his subordinate artificers from one work to the other; and the college was only taken possession of five years later, in 1393. The chapel was not consecrated, and so probably was not finished, till 1395. In the same year

Richard II, "in consideration of the faithful and diligent services and the unwearied labours which Wykeham had expended on the kingdom, not without detriment to his own health," granted to the new foundation an ample charter of immunities and privileges.

In the early part of Richard II's reign the only public business on which we hear of Wykeham being engaged was that of serving on commissions for regulating the expenditure of the king's household. The extravagance of his court was throughout this time a standing cause of quarrel between the king and his Parliament. When the evil grew beyond bounds the Parliament insisted on appointing a commission to see where retrenchments could be made. To the appointment of such commissions the king unwillingly assented; their recommendations he managed uniformly to set at defiance. The first of these commissions was appointed, as a condition of a subsidy to be granted to the king, as early as 1380, and on it Wykeham, with fourteen others, was chosen to serve; but its operations were delayed by the king, and finally it was put an end to by the Peasants' Rising in 1381. Later on in the same year a fresh commission was issued, with the Duke of Lancaster as its president; on this also Wykeham was appointed. This commission must have reported, for we find the Commons in the next year, 1383, petitioning the king that the officers of his household should take an oath to observe its recommendations. The year following, when de la Pole and the new favourites of the king had already been established in power, we find the bishop of Winchester withstanding the request of the Lords of the Marches that Parliament should grant them special payments out of public funds for the defence of their borders against the Scots. Such a demand Wykeham denounced as unjust and preposterous, since the Lords had been granted their positions and titles on the express condition of their fulfilling this particular service. The opposition may have been in part dictated by personal hostility to Henry Percy, whose desertion of the popular cause and adherence to John of Gaunt in 1376 he may well have resented. In this same year Wykeham was also called on to

serve on a commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the Exchequer, a commission which proved, however, as futile as all its predecessors. In 1385 a still more important and more disagreeable duty was imposed upon him. He was placed on the Commission of Regency before which de la Pole and the other favourites of the king were summoned and tried. Though Parliament, and not the Commission, was directly responsible for the harsh measures which were finally, dealt out to the members of the late ministry, Wykeham seems undoubtedly to have thrown his weight on the side hostile to them, and to have incurred thereby Richard's resentment, though for a time the king found it prudent to dissemble it. Indeed, at this particular juncture it became Richard's rôle to show marked favour to his guardian, so that when two years later he resolved to assert his independence and to defy his uncles and the Lords Appellate, it was to Wykeham that he turned to assist him in his enterprise. Taking the Great Seal away from Archbishop Arundel, who had been more or less forced upon him as Chancellor by the Lords Appellate, he entrusted it to Wykeham; and Wykeham though at first unwilling to receive it, or undertake so great a responsibility, was at last induced to accept it.

This his second term of office as Chancellor was far more successful than his first had been. At the outset he succeeded in securing first a truce, and then a more permanent peace, with France. Next he managed after recalling John of Gaunt to reunite, at any rate in apparent harmony, the jarring elements which in the preceding years had fought against one another with so much bitterness; and to induce the king to admit them all, including his uncle Thomas Duke of Gloucester, to a reconstructed ministry. Thirdly he effected reforms in the Privy Council itself, devising rules for the conduct of their business; and providing that minutes of their proceedings should for the future be properly kept. These reforms, while adhered to, did much to secure better order and more constitutional government. In the last place he introduced and passed as Chancellor a fresh, and more stringent, Statute of Provisors, which further curtailed the Pope's patronage and authority in England.

But Wykeham remained Chancellor only for less than three years; and then resigning his office retired practically from public life. Once before this he had placed his resignation in the king's hands, and resumed the seals only when he had received from Parliament a full acquittance from all responsibility for acts committed during his tenure of office. His previous experience had taught him caution; and he was unwilling to run the risk of being again impeached for acts that he had done as a minister, when the lapse of time had made the procuring of evidence for a satisfactory defence difficult or even impossible. On the present occasion, however, the Commons passed a resolution thanking the Lords of the Council for their faithful and good services; and armed with this, Wykeham was contented for a time to resume his difficult duties. It was, however, only for a time; perhaps his own failing health made a rest indispensable, or the charge of guiding the wayward and self-willed king may have proved more than his strength could bear; any way, after holding it in all for rather more than two years he definitely resigned the chancellorship.

Once, and once more only, did the aged prelate come forward after this to take a part in public affairs, and then apparently much against his will. For a time after Wykeham's retirement Richard continued to walk in the constitutional paths which his late Chancellor had marked out for him. He even insisted, against the advice of some of his most trusted counsellors and at the cost of the loss of much popular favour, on converting into a permanent peace the truce with France which Wykeham had negotiated; and, when in 1394 Ann, his first wife, died, he further cemented his good relations with that country by taking for his second wife in 1396 Isabella of France, though the majority of his subjects liked the French alliance as little as they had liked the French peace, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, being specially active in opposition to it.

When the peace and alliance with France were concluded, Richard determined to strike down the Lords Appellant, who had been mainly responsible for the disgrace and punishment

of his favourites in 1388; as well as those who had in any way aided or abetted them in their action. The Lords Appellant had been five in number, Thomas Duke of Gloucester (the king's uncle), the earls of Arundel and Warwick, Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, shortly to become Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Earl of Derby, John of Gaunt's son, afterwards created by Richard Duke of Hereford. The king began his attack by first making friends with John of Gaunt, and then winning over to his cause Norfolk and, in a less degree, Henry of Derby. This done, he managed to seize by an ambush Arundel and Warwick, and himself apprehended Gloucester at Pleshy in France. At the same time the Duke of York, Lord Scrope of Bolton and Wykeham were also impeached; for they, though not reckoned among the Lords Appellant, had, together with Arundel and Warwick, served in the same year on the commission for regulating the expenditure of the king's household. Of the three Lords Appellant impeached at once before the Commons, Gloucester died in prison, probably by foul means, before his trial actually came on; Arundel was put to death; and Warwick was condemned to imprisonment for life in the Isle of Man. The three commissioners were pardoned; but from Wykeham the king first extorted a forced loan of £1,000.

Nor did the king's vengeance even stop here. He first banished and then deprived of his archbishopric, Archbishop Arundel, whom, as Earl Arundel's brother, he regarded as dangerous, and subsequently turned upon the Dukes of Norfolk and Hereford, though the former of them had been his principal instrument in bringing the three other Lords Appellant to punishment, and the latter had consented to remain neutral. Taking advantage of a quarrel which broke out between them the king banished them both from the realm; and when John of Gaunt died he persuaded the Parliament to declare that Henry was incapable of succeeding to his father's title of Duke of Lancaster, and had even forfeited his title of Duke of Hereford, which, it was averred, had been illegally procured. It was this latter act of high-handed tyranny which brought about the king's ruin. For Henry of Lancaster,

after concerting measures with Archbishop Arundel, landed at Ravenspur in July, 1399; and, marching direct on London, found himself joined by what was practically the whole country. The king, who was at the time absent in Ireland, was seized on his return by the adherents of his cousin, thrown into prison at Pontefract, and died there shortly afterwards, whether murdered or not, who shall say? That Wykeham was privy to the plot is possible, though there is no direct evidence to implicate him in it. He certainly spent much of his time during the crisis in London and its neighbourhood; and excused himself from various engagements on the plea that he was occupied in important public business. More than this it is impossible to affirm. For while he profited by the rebellion (since Richard had shown himself singularly implacable to those who, like him, had taken any part in encompassing the downfall of his favourites), it is unlikely that Wykeham was willing to proceed to extremities against one, for whose father and grandfather he had felt so sincere a friendship, one whom throughout his career he had done his best to protect and reform. In any case we can confidently acquit him of having had any hand in the final tragedy.

Yet he had no difficulty in submitting himself to the new régime which was now set up. He attended in person the Parliament which accepted Richard's enforced, or voluntary, resignation, and published in his diocese the proclamation ordering a general thanksgiving for the late revolution, which Archbishop Arundel caused to be issued shortly after the new king's accession. Under the new reign, however, Wykeham took no part beyond this in public affairs. His health was now fast failing, and what little energy he had remaining he devoted entirely to the restoration of his cathedral, the nave of which he was at his own expense converting from the Norman into the Perpendicular style. In 1400, 1401, and 1402, he found it necessary to call in suffragan bishops to aid him in the discharge of his diocesan functions; and in the next year appointed two more permanent coadjutors—his kinsman Nicholas Wykeham, and one John

Elmer—to relieve him of duties which were now too heavy for his fast diminishing strength. "From the day of this appointment," so runs his register, "all proceeded as usual by the consent and expressed authority of the said coadjutors." In 1404 he died, being then just eighty years old. He was buried in Winchester Cathedral in the chantry which during his lifetime he had prepared for his final resting-place. A recent restoration has given back to it, it is hoped, much of the quiet yet stately magnificence which Wykeham had himself designed for it.

What then are we to say of the man whose career we have thus attempted to sketch? There are three points of view from which we may regard him; as a founder, a statesman, and an ecclesiastic. We will say a few words about him under each of these heads.

The foundation of his two colleges, at Oxford and at Winchester, was undoubtedly, we think, his greatest achievement. To the planning and building of them, and the drawing up of statutes for their government, he devoted the best years of his life; and his two colleges have remained ever since his most permanent memorial, the institutions through which he has most influenced the life of subsequent ages. Though the foundation of a college at Oxford was not, as we have seen, a new idea, there can be no doubt that Wykeham's foundation, by the magnificent scale on which it was conceived and the stateliness and convenience of the buildings in which his scholars were housed, greatly strengthened the collegiate system and caused the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge to take their place as a permanent feature not only of the University, but of national life. How considerable Wykeham's influence was may be gathered from the fact that almost all subsequent colleges adopted in their main features the arrangement and plan of his buildings. Questions have been raised in recent times how far William of Wykeham was his own architect and the inventor of that Perpendicular style of architecture which is so generally and so closely associated with his name. That he rose to eminence by building castles we know from Wyclif's sneer against him; and it is with the

rebuilding of the inner ward of Windsor and the superintendence and erection of other castles that all the early histories connect his rise; beyond this we have the undoubted fact that when he became bishop, the repair and rebuilding of his different episcopal residences and manor houses became one of his earliest and most constant cares. To the building of New College and Winchester he certainly devoted much time and attention; and these buildings, both in their general character and even more in their details, bear the unmistakable impress of an individual, and we may add a master, mind. We have besides this the final consideration that the renovation of the nave of Winchester Cathedral was certainly begun under his own more immediate superintendence and direction, and occupied much of his thought and attention during his declining years. Putting these facts together we shall scarcely be wrong in throwing modern doubt aside and holding with the ordinary tradition which ranks William of Wykeham among the master builders of England. That he was the absolute inventor of Perpendicular architecture it would be rash to affirm; that, like every other good and permanent style of architecture, grew directly out of the needs and altered circumstances which it was intended to meet; and yet, I think, we shall hardly be wrong in ascribing to Wykeham the particular form and direction which under the pressure of those needs the style took. While the wide and lofty windows and flattened roofs and long horizontal lines characteristic of Perpendicular work were evolved by the ideas of the time and the uses to which the buildings were to be put, the stately majesty which Wykeham, more than any other builder, contrived to impart to the style would seem to have been the result of his own genius.

But the character and aims of the man appear, perhaps, even more clearly in the statutes which he drew up for the societies he founded than in the buildings with which he provided them. On them he spent the greatest possible pains, correcting them and retouching them with his own hand almost to the time of his death. Now in the statutes as they have come down we find three very marked characteristics:

1. They bear the stamp of true legislative power. In all essentials the statutes William of Wykeham drew up have governed the two societies which he founded from his day almost to our own; and they still largely govern them, if not in the letter, in the spirit. But to frame statutes which shall adapt themselves to such a variety of conditions as New College and Winchester have passed through and yet not be obsolete, is surely in itself no mean triumph of the legislative art. And these statutes contained ideas which could germinate. The whole conception of New College as framed by him influenced, as we have seen, the subsequent history of the University; the open character of the election of scholars at both colleges, though sadly interfered with by the practice of succeeding ages, was another idea destined to bear fruit; more notably still was the permission, given at Winchester, to educate a limited number of outsiders of superior position and influence side by side with his own scholars—a permission which, as has often been pointed out, made Winchester the original and example of all the Public Schools of England.

2. The statutes proclaim the founder a man of deep and sincere piety, but of piety leavened by common sense. If it be true that his piety took the somewhat superstitious form so common in that age (a form which made foundation of chantries the characteristic feature of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth centuries), of prayers and masses, to be offered in the chapel, for the souls of the departed, we must still remember two things—first, that the care thus displayed had not yet hardened into the mechanical system of endless paid masses and of indulgences, supposed to be obtained by their means, which became so great a scandal to the sense and consciences of a later generation; and secondly, that to a great extent Wykeham kept this side of his foundations, prominent and real though it undoubtedly was, from overshadowing, or unduly interfering with, their more properly educational work. His scholars at New College, still more his scholars at Winchester, were not so overburdened with constant attendance at services in the chapel as to be rendered incapable of

pursuing their studies or of devoting themselves to learning. The scholars at Winchester had indeed only to attend Chapel once a day and on Sundays and Saints Days; nor were the scholars and fellows of New College required to attend such a number of services as could have been any serious interference with their reading and studies. The conduct of the services was left in both places for the most part to those who were not actively engaged in either study or teaching.

3. Besides statesmanship and piety the statutes stamp William of Wykeham as one who had a real interest in and care for learning. This is all the more remarkable if, as the Pope seems to have thought, Wykeham's own scholarship and learning were not conspicuous. The preambles of both sets of statutes clearly set forth the training of learned men as the object of both foundations; the course of training was for the time singularly liberal and thorough at both places; for instance, the inclusion of medicine and astronomy in the list of prescribed subjects to be studied at New College and the large number of students who were allowed to study law and philosophy testify to Wykeham's breadth of view.

II. As a statesman Wykeham appears rather in the character of a prudent and trusted man of affairs than as an original genius. That he was greatly valued and trusted by Edward III, during the earlier and better years of his reign, there can be no reasonable doubt. Apart from Froissart's testimony, which states that at the height of his power the king would do nothing without Wykeham's advice, Wykeham's own career sufficiently establishes this. And though it must be admitted that Wykeham's first chancellorship was not a success, and though it is impossible to acquit him entirely of blame for the loss of Ponthieu or the ill-success of the French wars, yet the fact that when the immediate disappointment was over he was recalled to power, and that John of Gaunt was able to establish none of the more serious charges he brought against him, shows that in spite of his failure he never really forfeited popular confidence. For the greater part of Richard II's reign the circumstances of the time forced him to play the part of a mediator rather than a director;

but when allowed a comparatively free hand in his second chancellorship, and particularly in the conduct of the business of the Privy Council, he instituted some useful reforms and conducted the external policy of the kingdom with prudence and skill. Thus he showed himself not indeed a great statesman, but a useful, capable, honest administrator.

III. As an ecclesiastic his position is somewhat the same. Moving in this with the spirit of his country and the age he sought consistently and successfully to limit the power and the privileges of the Pope within the realm of England. As almost at the outset of his career he allowed the battle against the papal policy of "providing" to be fought in his own person, so again almost at its close he was responsible in his capacity of Chancellor for the introduction of a more stringent statute against "provisors" than any that had preceded it. In the policy of the statutes of "Praemunire" again he certainly acquiesced, and indeed did his best to promote it. The Church, he thought, should be national; and cures filled, and benefices held, by those who could at least understand the speech of those to whom they ministered, by men whose interests should be in the main the same as those of their flocks. In accordance with this principle he had no hesitation in asking from king or Pope for the revenues of alien monasteries or priories as endowments for his college, since he reasonably considered that his colleges should produce men more competent than those whom they supplanted to undertake the spiritual duties for which these revenues provided. In the administration of his diocese he was a strenuous and persistent opponent of abuses; and a careful supervisor not only of his clergy but of the various monastic and other establishments which came under his control. His great private fortune and the ample revenue of his see he used munificently and liberally; not only spending great sums on the building and endowment of his colleges, but also on the restoration of his cathedral and the repair of his palaces and manor houses. His tenants he treated with justice and generosity, the poor with open-handed munificence. He tells us himself that he long hesitated whether he should not dis-

tribute among the poor in his lifetime the great sums which ultimately he spent on the construction and endowment of his colleges. We cannot but feel that he made the wiser choice. Not a professed theologian, he took but little part in the religious controversies of his time. Though to Wyclif he was probably almost the incarnation of what a bishop should not be, and was therefore attacked by him, sometimes specially, more often as part of the system which he represented, he showed himself neither a persecutor nor unforgiving. Once or twice, it is true, he joined in Wyclif's condemnation, yet he can hardly be said to have taken a leading part in bringing it about, and on one memorable occasion he pleaded for toleration for one of his enemy's adherents. While his college was, no doubt, partly directed to the training of men who might counterwork what seemed to him Wyclif's heresies and errors, he fought them at least with spiritual weapons, leaving to a later and rougher generation the disastrous appeal to force and the secular arm.

Not in the first rank of statesmen or ecclesiastics, he yet by wise and patriotic munificence, by foresight and good sense, by diligence, by dutiful piety, by kindliness and moderation, conferred on his own and subsequent generations greater benefits than many abler and more masterful men have been able to contribute.

III

WILLIAM COURTENAY

BY

Rev. THOMAS SCOTT HOLMES, M.A.

WILLIAM COURTENAY

The wise man shall inherit confidence among his people,
And his name shall live for ever.—*Ecclesiasticus* xxxvii. 26.

As we look over the list of the names of those who have filled the high office of Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England we will meet with the names of at least three whose life-work we cannot understand and whose character we cannot justly estimate unless we study somewhat carefully the history of the times in which they lived. Strong men sometimes show their strength by going contrary to the views of the age in which they lived, and we must not misjudge them because they were unpopular. Thomas of Canterbury (usually now called Thomas à Becket), William Courtenay, and William Laud were all strong men placed in high position; we cannot judge fairly their life-story without a special effort. Of all these, then, the story is one of opposition to what we think ought to have been, and the popular judgment is therefore against them. Now, in the history of the English people we find there are certain periods which are remarkable for the rapid evolution of political and religious ideas. The periods that preceded them were probably times when the ideas were being thought out, and then, when the time was ripe, there happened unwonted progress, and as a rule the growth came from below. In the twelfth century the procedure of the ecclesiastical courts and the codification of the canon law of the Church was far in advance of the procedure of the king's courts and the statute law of the land. Then came the reformer in Henry II, making claims on churchmen because he meant to make, and was even then trying to make, his own legal procedure as fair, and his own statute law as definite, as

was that of the Church. How, then, was the Archbishop of Canterbury to act? Promises and good intentions would not bind the justices in eyre. The movement was uncertain, the future was unknown, and Archbishop Thomas had to act with caution and resist until he had exacted pledges.

So again in the seventeenth century the old Tudor ideas were breaking down, and the age of privilege and autocratic government was yielding to the new force of the rising democracy with its new thoughts of political freedom and religious liberty. But how would it turn out? Men were not prophets, and could not discern the great development that was then only just beginning, and old institutions must be protected, and even ancient rights and privileges must not be surrendered without grave deliberation. Thus Archbishop Laud, like Archbishop Thomas, was necessarily conservative, and they both were compelled by their position and the responsibilities it imposed upon them to endeavour to check the movement and even to oppose it until men could clearly perceive what its true character was.

William Courtenay, the second of the three names we have mentioned, was similarly situated. He was Archbishop of Canterbury at a time when ideas were rapidly changing. Political and religious principles, so interlocked as to be quite inextricable, were then being freely promulgated, and men in authority were alarmed. These ideas were "disturbing the peace of the nation," and the older men knew not what would come from them; and they were rightly anxious and cautious. For the second half of the fourteenth century is the beginning of the history of modern Europe. Events had occurred which had severed the past from the present, and it was impossible any longer to restore or bring back the old order. Of these events two stand out as most productive of change, the one religious and the other social. In 1308 Pope Clement V left Rome and took up his abode at Avignon in France; and there in France the pope dwelt for seventy years until in 1377 Gregory XI again entered Rome and strove to heal the incurable wounds of Christendom. Men's minds had been always associated with the city of Rome, and

they could not think of any other city as the centre of Christendom, nor could they think that the Church in its centre at Rome was so identified with the Papacy that the popes could change their capital and locate the chair of St. Peter where they would. Those who thought seriously began to reconsider the mass of mediaeval traditions, cults, and ceremonies which had grown up in ages of intense religious enthusiasm and certainly in ages of less exacting criticism. The very alliance too between the French popes and the French kings, when England was at war with France, roused men into opposition, and great thinkers like John Wyclif at Oxford and Lutterworth began to question not merely the Papal system but many a doctrine and accepted belief which they thought were connected with it. So in the reign of Richard II, 1377–1399, men were being prepared for religious changes. The old order was beginning to fade away, and men could not yet see what the future was going to bring forth.

But, in addition to the religious question, there had occurred another crisis which was productive of great and permanent change, and which, side by side with the religious question, was interwoven into it, and has often been forgotten in calculating the causes for the changes which afterwards took place.

The social order of mediaeval Christendom was shaken to its foundations by the terrible visitation of the Black Death. It swept over England in the autumn of 1348 and the greater part of 1349. It is calculated that half the population of England was carried off by it. For a moment society was prostrate: the old links of responsibility and dependency which had bound men together were torn asunder. Then in 1350 men realized that the land was everywhere going to waste because there were but few to till it, and the survivors were not sufficient to fill the homesteads which had been emptied. The crisis was the greater because times had, on the whole, been previously good. Villenage had not been irksome, for the number of servile labourers had exceeded the demands of the landlords, and they had grown accustomed to easy conditions and but rare calls on their time and labour

to cultivate the domains of the lord of the manor. Some had bought the freedom of their children, and some had gone off for a year and a day to the neighbouring towns, and had not been searched for. It was not then worth the lord's trouble, for he had enough to cultivate for him his lands. Now, however, on all sides, landlords were demanding the utmost of their legal rights, and claiming the service of all the sons of the villeins, and taking good care that none should flee away. But labour was at a premium, and the landlord's needs were the labourers' opportunity, and it was impossible to keep the villenage on the estates. The Council, and afterwards Parliament, came to the assistance of the landowning classes, and passed the Statute of Labourers in 1349, and re-enacted it in 1351, 1362, and 1368. Fixed wages were assigned to the labourers, and men were bidden not to demand more, and it was strictly forbidden to give alms to sturdy beggars. These efforts of the landowning classes produced serious discontent, and it was largely fermented by the religious difficulty. The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelite Friars who had been licensed in great numbers to carry out the spiritual discipline of the Church, had not been sparing in their criticism of what the Church should do for the labouring classes, and the villeins had interpreted that in reference to the parish priest. Others, like Wyclif at Oxford and Lutterworth, were active in criticizing the connexion of the English Church with the French Papacy. So the links became weakened between the Church and the poor by reason of the present distress. Moreover, in the effort to recover from the catastrophe of the Great Pestilence, the estates of the Church and of the monasteries, being more economically managed, contrasted favourably with those of the less provident laity. So the governing classes began to inquire whether the estates of the Church might not be taken for the welfare of the nation. As early as 1307 the Statute of Carlisle had endeavoured to stop the export of revenue from alien priories to the foreign abbeys to which

[1] Cf. Dom Gasquet's *The Great Pestilence.*

they belonged. This statute was re-enacted in 1331, and the alien priories were placed under the guardianship of men who, as a rule, represented the family of the original donor of the estate. After paying the expenses of the priory, and the commission of the guardian, the balance of revenue was to go to the support of the Crown.

Such action on the part of the Crown had not been lost sight of by the laity, and with the failing years of Edward III, and amid the rivalries of the Black Prince and his more robust brother John of Gaunt, the French War was mismanaged, and much English money wasted, and English folk wearied of these continual demands on their revenues, and were little able to meet them, because their lands were not yet brought back into cultivation. So in 1371 a deliberate attack was made on the Church. William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, was chancellor, and Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, was treasurer, and, as keepers of the public funds, withstood the demands of the spendthrift party of John of Gaunt. Moreover, the monastic landowners, *religiosi possessionati*, claimed immunity from payments of tenths and fifteenths ordered by Parliament. Their payments, though equal to those of the laity, were made through Convocation. Yet they were richer and their lands were in a more flourishing state than those of the laity.

So in 1371 the Commons proposed to Edward III that the clerical ministers should be removed; and John of Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, a young man of no experience, and great boldness, spoke against the wealth of the Church, and likened the Church to an owl dressed in the feathers of other birds, and said that in times of war the temporalities of the Church should be available for the needs of the State.

The nation was not indeed ripe for such a revolutionary measure, but Wykeham and Brantingham retired, and it is certain that these ideas of plunder were often in men's minds; and the propagators of Wyclif's doctrines often repeated and proclaimed theories of a similar character.

We turn, then, now to consider the life-work of William Courtenay; and we must remember, as we read, the thoughts

that were in men's minds, and the difficulties, economic and political, that were being faced—and then we can see how a strong man acted who had to be true to the Church of which he was so high an official.

He was born about 1342 at St. Martin's parish, near Exeter, the son of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and Margaret Bohun, daughter of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford, and granddaughter of Edward I. Educated probably at home, he was sent in due time to Stapledon Hall, the forerunner of Exeter College, Oxford. He graduated in both branches of law, being a Doctor of Decretals and a Doctor of Civil Law[1]. In 1367 he was certainly in priest's Orders, for, as such and belonging to the diocese of Exeter, we find that he procured a Papal indult to carry about a portable altar[2]. In this year he was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and that in face of the opposition of the Bishop of Lincoln, who claimed the right to nominate. His appointment was also opposed by the Friars, who resented his effort to impose obedience upon them within the limits of the University[3]. The pope, however, confirmed his election. He already held prebendal stalls at Exeter and Wells, and in 1369 he was given a stall at York. The next year, 1370, he was appointed Bishop of Hereford and was consecrated March 17[4], though it was not till August 17 that by papal bull his defect of years was put aside. Enthroned at Hereford on September 5, he at once showed himself on the side of the Prince of Wales and William of Wykeham, and against the party of John of Gaunt[5]. The next year Gregory XI, recognizing him as one of the rising powers in England, endeavoured to use him to obtain safe conduct for some cardinals he wanted to send to negotiate for peace. There were two quarrels which called for an amicable arrangement: there was the war between England and France, and there was the estrangement which had arisen consequent on the demand made by Urban V in 1366 for the payment of the arrears of

[1] Fasci, *Zizanorum*, pp. 288, 498.
[2] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, p. 62.
[3] *Mun. Academica*, pp. 226, 229.
[4] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, p. 82.
[5] Ibid., iv, p. 94.

tribute from 1333, and which up to that year had been paid to the popes by England since the time that John had made his peace with the Papacy. Urban V had been succeeded in 1370 by Gregory XI, and an opportunity for a fresh arrangement had arisen. The Statute of Provisors, 1351, and of Praemunire, 1353 and 1365, showed that England would never return to the old conditions. In 1371 the Parliament was violently anti-clerical, and John of Gaunt was for his own purposes using the commoners to turn out of office the faithful ministers of his father. Wykeham therefore retired from the chancellorship; but when Edward returned from Rochelle in the autumn, still fresh supplies were demanded for the continuance of the war. In 1373 a conference took place between the Lords and Commons, to consider the demands of the king for yet a further subsidy. Courtenay was a member of this committee, and in it opposed the views of the Duke of Lancaster. Courtenay, however, worked with Bishop Sudbury, who in other matters was a member of the Lancastrian party. In Convocation[1] that autumn Courtenay declared that neither he nor any of his clergy would contribute until the king remedied the evils under which the Church then suffered. In 1375 Sudbury was translated from London to Canterbury, and on September 12 Courtenay became Bishop of London. In the previous year John of Gaunt had been to Bruges to arrange a year's truce, and John Wyclif had accompanied him as one of the commissioners, being well known as an opponent of the Papal claims for subsidy or tribute. In 1376 the Good Parliament sat from April 28 to July 8, and John of Gaunt supported the corrupt court party against the Prince of Wales and the party of reformation. Courtenay and the Earl of March supported the latter party until the death of the Prince of Wales in June. Gaunt's hostility was, however, for a time checked by Wykeham's firmness, and the Statute of Labourers was re-enacted, and Sir William Sturry, a violent Lollard, was removed from the court. But in the autumn Gaunt was all powerful,

[1] Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. 97.

Wykeham was charged with peculation, and Courtenay had foolishly published a papal bull against the Florentine merchants without the sanction of the Crown. He probably thought it of little importance, but when the London mob took advantage of it to plunder the houses of Italian merchants the lord mayor sided with the Crown, and Courtenay had to apologize and ask pardon for his temerity[1]. Then it was, September 22, that Wyclif was summoned to appear before the King's Council, and it is evident that Gaunt desired his advice in reference to the illegal action of Bishop Courtenay; and he stayed at the Savoy Palace recognized by all as an honoured counsellor of the Duke of Lancaster.

Parliament met in February, 1377, and Gaunt induced Archbishop Sudbury to omit the summons to Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester. This action Bishop Courtenay, as dean of the province of Canterbury, vigorously condemned, and on his own authority summoned Wykeham, and so foiled the Duke of Lancaster. In London, too, he came into opposition with the duke. Wyclif had been staying at the Savoy, and, under the protection of the duke, had been advocating Lollard principles, denouncing the endowments of the clergy and the abuses that were prevalent in the Church. On February 19, therefore, Bishop Courtenay cited Wyclif to appear before the archbishop at St. Paul's on a charge of heresy. When Wyclif appeared he was accompanied by John of Gaunt, Lord Percy, the earl marshal, and a considerable body of armed retainers. Courtenay resented this attempt to influence by an armed force, and told the duke that had he known what was being planned he would not have allowed so many of his followers to attend. Then the earl marshal demanded a chair for Wyclif, who stood arraigned before the archbishop in the lady chapel. This, said Courtenay, was quite unprecedented; and words passed between the duke and the bishop which ended in a quarrel. The duke told Courtenay that his boldness was due to his reliance on his family connexions, but that would not protect him; and he, the

[1] *Chronicon Angliae*, p. 109.

duke, meant to pull down the pride of the bishops. Thereupon the Londoners, who had heard the rudeness of the duke, became riotous, and the court broke up in confusion; and afterwards the Londoners would have burnt down the Savoy Palace had not Courtenay restrained them.

That summer King Edward died, and Courtenay sat with the Duke of Lancaster on the Council of Regency. London was divided into two parties—that of John of Gaunt, which was led by the lord mayor, John of Northampton, and was in favour of the political views of the Lollards—and the party of Courtenay, Bishop of London, which was led by Philpott. There can be no doubt that the Papacy, in the demands it made for Romescot and in the reckless way it issued bulls against Wyclif, was not only tactless but extremely provocative. It was certainly a popular cry that the present distress should be met by the money saved by stopping the supplies to Rome. On the other side there were men, of whom Courtenay was the most prominent, who were opposed to violent change and acts of conspicuous illegality, and who were courageous enough to try and stop them. There is nothing in Courtenay's action which will sanction his being called a papalist, but there is much to show his undoubted courage and consistency. The attack on Wyclif belongs rather to the history of Archbishop Sudbury, but Courtenay certainly condemned Wyclif's action as dangerous and his later views as heretical.

In 1378 Pope Gregory XI died and Urban VI was opposed by the rival Pope Clement VII[1]. To strengthen his position Urban offered Courtenay a cardinal's hat, and we must recognize his patriotism in refusing the offer. The next year saw a further demand by the Crown for funds for the war, and a poll-tax was proposed[2]. Such a proposition was profoundly unpopular. Men feared for the consequences. They did not understand what it might lead to. The labouring classes saw in it a design to reduce them once more to serfdom. The motion was therefore dropped. But in 1380 fresh subsidies were demanded, and Sudbury in an evil hour consented

[1] Walsingham, i. 382.

[2] Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. 153.

to be Lord Chancellor, and at Northampton Parliament at last consented to the poll-tax. It was to be one shilling a head for every layman and woman in England over the age of fifteen, beggars only excepted. The first payment was in January 1381, and the final instalment was to be paid in June 1381: Whitsunday occurred that year on June 2. On June 5 the men of Kent arose in rebellion at Dartford, and marched on London; and on June 13 burnt the Savoy Palace, regarding John of Gaunt as the instigator of the unpopular tax. When young Richard II appeared among the insurgents at Mile End, the Chancellor Sudbury had been left behind in the Tower. Thither, then, went a contingent of the rioters and, before they could realize their fortune, discovered themselves in possession of the Tower. At last they found the archbishop, and he urged upon them not to bring down punishment on themselves and an interdict on England by his murder. But hatred for the chancellor made them forget the person of the archbishop: they bound his hands behind his back, divested him of his pontifical garments, hurried him off to Tower Hill, and there beheaded him.

So through Archbishop Sudbury's violent death William Courtenay became Archbishop of Canterbury on July 30, 1381; and the temporalities of the see were restored to him on October 23. His courage did not forsake him. He at once accepted the seals as Lord Chancellor, and as archbishop excommunicated all who had taken part in the murder of his predecessor. Parliament sat from November 3 to February 25, 1382; and when the charters of emancipation promised by the king to the insurgents at Mile End were declared invalid, Courtenay, not willing to break faith, even with the misguided rioters, resigned, on November 13, the chancellorship.

The year was, however, an extremely busy one for him. Parliament recognized that the political disturbances were the result of Lollard propaganda, and sent a complaint to the archbishop against the Wycliffites as disturbers of the realm. Courtenay asked for a statute to command the sheriff to arrest, on the certificate of a bishop, all preachers of heresy; and, though this was at the request of the Commons afterwards

repealed, the Crown on July 12, 1383, gave Courtenay letters missive[1] giving power to the bishops to arrest persons accused of heresy and detain them in their own prisons until the Council should decide what steps should be taken concerning them. Courtenay had already taken steps to consider on its religious side the disturbances organized by the Lollards. He nominated a commission of bishops, doctors, and friars to pronounce opinion on the teaching of the Wycliffites. The meeting took place on May 19 in the Chapter House of the Black Friars in London. On the 21st, when they were all assembled for business, an earthquake took place, and when many were for adjournment Courtenay said: "Brethren, the living God is rousing you to bestir yourself in His Church's cause. By a mighty effort the earth is purging itself of noxious vapours, foreshowing that this realm must purge itself of heresy, though it will not be without struggle and commotion." The result of these deliberations was that ten conclusions of the Lollards were declared heretical and fourteen others opposed to the teaching of the Church. These decisions, which were signed by Courtenay and seven bishops of the provinces and thirty members of the theological faculty, he issued afterwards in a mandate addressed on June 12 to the Bishop of London. The Londoners, however, were divided in opinion and did not wish things to be carried too far. Though Kynyngham preached against the Lollards at the Whitsuntide procession, the citizens on June 20 broke up a commission of inquiry concerning an alleged Lollard John Ashton.

Courtenay's fearlessness comes out very strongly in reference to the protection which the University of Oxford had given to the advocates of Wyclif's views. On May 28 he sent to the University Dr. John Stokys[2], but Oxford resented the interference of the archbishop; and when the Carmelite Stokys saw how the Oxford scholars had armed in defence of their liberties he was afraid, and returned. Then Courtenay appealed to the Council against the University which sheltered the disturbers of the realm. His firmness brought Dr. Rygge

[1] Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii, p. 156.

[2] Knyghton, col. 2649.

the Chancellor to his knees to ask for pardon, and the ardent Wycliffite Philip de Repyngdon recanted his views and obtained forgiveness. On November 12, Courtenay himself went to Oxford, and Convocation met at St. Frideswide's Chapel. There he restored the penitent Repyngdon, and it is said that Wyclif himself sent a recantation of all he might have taught contrary to the doctrine of the Church. Wyclif was certainly deserted by John of Gaunt this year, and his retirement to Lutterworth was probably due to the unpopularity of his theological views with the political party which had hitherto supported him.

We must go back, however, a year or so to mark this same fearless performance of his conception of his duty which brought Archbishop Courtenay also into conflict with his suffragan bishops.

In 1382 he issued a notice of his intention to undertake a visitation of the province of Canterbury. Such action was always unpopular on account of the great expense incurred in entertainment and fees and also because from the moment the notice was received the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishops and their archdeacons was in abeyance. In order to lighten the expense Courtenay had procured a bull in 1382 from Urban VI sanctioning a uniform tax of fourpence a head from all the clergy. The motive was good, but the act was illegal. The Crown, however, did nothing, seeing that the bull only affected the clergy. The visitation was carried on through the next two years and was very thorough, the archbishop visiting the dioceses of Rochester, Chichester, Worcester, and Bath and Wells. At Exeter he anticipated resistance [1], and had obtained a further bull on November 22. Bishop Brantingham appealed against this [2], and objected that the right had lapsed through the long time that had intervened between the notice and the visit. At Topsham some of the bishop's servants seized one of the officials of the archbishop, and so drew down on them the wrath of Courtenay. The matter was soon after brought before the king, and the Bishop of Exeter was compelled to

[1] Brantingham's *Register*, p. 545. Randolph Edition.
[2] Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii, p. 190.

make his peace. The final peace took place between them on July 2, 1384.

At Salisbury Bishop Erghum adopted a different line[1]. He appealed because during the interval Pope Urban VI had died, and Boniface IX was pope; but Courtenay then fell back on his inherent rights as archbishop, and showed such determination that the bishop speedily submitted.

The following year, 1385, was one of great anxiety for the archbishop. The Commons again proposed to seize the temporalities of the Church to defray the extravagances of the court. Courtenay was fully aware of these extravagances, and had ventured to reprove King Richard for his evil conduct. Indeed so angry was Richard with the archbishop for his reproof that he was only restrained from striking him by his uncle Thomas of Woodstock, and Courtenay retired into Devonshire for protection, being chased, it is said, by Richard himself up the valley of the Thames.

The firmness and boldness of the archbishop, however, saved the Church; and Richard afterwards said "he would take care to leave the Church in as good a position as when he received it."

The year 1387 was one of great political strife, and we find the archbishop acting as mediator between King Richard and the Lords Appellant. The Lancastrians avoided the Lollards, and John of Gaunt was abroad. The "Merciless Parliament" sat from October 1 onwards for 112 days, and in the bitterness of feeling which the Commons showed against the court party the Lollards saw their opportunity. There was much activity amongst them in the Midland Counties, and they were unrestrained. The archbishop protested against this laxity[2], which was an infringement of the liberties of the Church; and the Bishop of Worcester prohibited Lollards from preaching in his diocese[3], naming especially Nicholas Hereford, John Ashton, John Purvey, John Parker, and Robert Swinderby. The result of Courtenay's protest was that the Commons asked Richard to take action; and the king sent orders to the

[1] Wilkins's *Concilia*, p. 177.

[2] Feb. 5. Wilkins's *Concilia*, p. 203.

[3] Ibid., iii, p. 202.

archbishop to seize and imprison all teachers of heresy, and to confiscate all heretical books, particularly those of Hereford and Wyclif[1].

In March 1389, and again in the spring of the next year Courtenay had an urgent appeal from Urban VI, and, on the death of Urban that autumn, from his successor, Boniface IX, for supplies to aid them against the anti-pope[2]. The archbishop attempted obedience; but when he received a royal order, October 10, to desist, he does not seem to have been unwilling to obey it[3]. No supplies were sent. During this year an incident occurred which throws additional light on the archbishop's character. During his visitation of the Diocese of Worcester he visited the great Benedictine Monastery at Gloucester[4]; and there his attention was called to its dependent cell at Oxford known as Gloucester College. It was here that the young monks from Gloucester were lodged while they were going through a course of study at the University of Oxford. The archbishop caused considerable alarm by announcing that he meant to visit Gloucester College. It was regarded as an infringement of the rights of the University, and the abbots of St. Alban's and Westminster endeavoured to persuade Courtenay to desist. The archbishop listened with respect, but went to Oxford and summoned the monks to meet him at St. Frideswide's. There they appeared and protested, and the archbishop, seeing that this foundation was really of the nature of a college, and not a mere cell of the great monastery at Gloucester, gave up the attempt. The effort shows his independence of character and devotion to duty, while his ultimate surrender after he had clearly ascertained the facts proves his moral strength.

During the next three years we find the archbishop engaged in the search for Lollards as disturbers of the nation[5], and his energy, especially at Leicester, was productive of good. Some eight of the leading citizens, after an interview with the archbishop, recanted their opinions.

[1] March 30, 1388.
[2] *Cal. Papal Letters*, iv, p. 272.
[3] Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii, p. 207.
[4] Cf. Walsingham, ii, pp. 190-2.
[5] Cf. Courtenay, *Reg.*, f. 144 a.

In 1390 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York formally protested when Parliament reissued and enlarged the Statute of Provisors; but in 1393, when it was proposed to re-enact the Statute of Praemunire, Courtenay warned the Parliament not to interfere with the legal and canonical authority of the pope; and this clause was at his instigation inserted in the Act.

In the autumn of 1395 King Richard went to Ireland, and in the Parliament which was held under the presidency of the Duke of York the Lollard members of the House of Commons brought in a bill against the abuses existing in the English Church. The changes were of a political and socialistic character, and through Courtenay's firmness the bill made no progress. There were twelve articles of an abstract character, but pointing to an entire upturning of the Church and a confiscation of the temporalities. The fine arts of the day were also condemned as pandering to sin.

In that year Archbishop Courtenay rebuilt Archbishop Boniface's hospital at Maidstone, and changed it into a collegiate church with a master and twenty-four chaplains and clerks, and here he desired that he should ultimately lie. But it was not so to be. On July 31, 1396, he passed away at Maidstone; but at the desire of all, and in the presence of King Richard, to whom he had been so faithful an adviser, he was buried at Canterbury at the feet of Edward the Black Prince.

In looking back over his past life, we can perceive that he was at once a faithful churchman and a devoted patriot. What would have happened if the Lollard movement had not been checked? The English Church would have certainly been deprived of its endowments, and, though for a hundred years crippled and hampered, it possibly might have lingered on supported by the Spiritualia which was derived from a system mediaeval and not entirely scriptural; yet in the movement of the next century she would have fallen beyond the power of restoration except perhaps at the loss of her Catholicity. In the second half of the fourteenth century men's minds were not ripe for a religious reform. They did not really wish to

break with Rome. The unrest was essentially political; and though the wrong-doings of the Papacy were quoted as an argument to justify social change, and the fiscal arrangements with the pope certainly needed revision, there was no one capable then of carrying out any real and stable reform; and to Archbishop Courtenay more than to any one else do we owe the fact that the unripe movement was checked, that its political character was clearly defined, and that the day for change was postponed until the social condition of England allowed a reform that was purely religious. A man of unblemished morals, no place-hunter, a good scholar, a devout priest of the Church, he faced the seething ferment of his age with unflinching courage. His aristocratic origin might possibly have procured for him the bishopric of Hereford; but his courage, his intelligence, and his consistent policy marked him out for preferment—and he rose to the Primatial See a protector and a guide to the English Church in one of the darkest and most difficult periods of her history.

IV

CARDINAL BEAUFORT

BY

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CARDINAL BEAUFORT

THE "typical English Churchmen" of post-Reformation days were mainly types of doctrine, and only in the second instance types of discipline so far as discipline serves to express or control doctrine. The typical churchmen of the centuries that immediately preceded the Reformation were types of policy, and mainly of the external policy which is concerned with the relations subsisting between the Church and the Crown, or between the national Church and the Papacy. In the later period it is the Prayer-book which is at once in its text the common ground, and in its interpretation the battlefield of conflicting schools of thought and practice. In the earlier period it is the episcopate which is itself at stake, challenged by elements of resistance within the diocese and nation, crippled by the encroachments of the Papacy upon its rights and revenues, and weakened by divergent views within its own ranks. In both periods alike the individuals who deserve to be selected as the most prominent types of churchmanship cannot be combined by generalization into a character that can be described as the typical churchman. The different types must remain side by side as antithetical elements in the life of the Church. Beaufort and Chicheley, his longest contemporary, refuse to blend. Chicheley was a churchman in whom the lawyer and the diplomatist gave place more and more to the bishop, an English churchman who as primate was most at home in convocation and in the diocese. Beaufort was a churchman in whom the bishop was lost in the statesman, best content to serve the Crown and guide the national counsels in war and in peace, an English churchman whose ambition ranged far afield, and high in Western

Christendom. In ecclesiastical politics Chicheley was a constitutionalist, Beaufort a papalist.

Little is known of Beaufort's early manhood. Born at the castle of Beaufort in Anjou, the second son of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford, he was trained in canon and civil law at Aachen, and his name occurs in the bursar's rolls at Peterhouse, Cambridge, as a pensioner undergraduate in residence there in 1388–9. There is similar evidence for his residence at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1390–1, and apparently still in 1393. Two prebends at Lincoln had already fallen to his lot in 1389 and 1391. In 1397 a statute of legitimation, the sequel to the marriage of his parents, removed the barrier to the further promotion of the young Clerk, and he became dean of Wells. A year later an arbitrary papal translation compelled John Bokyngham to exchange the diocese of Lincoln for the poorer see of Lichfield. The unfortunate bishop, "choosing rather to have no bread than but half a loaf," retired to die in monastic seclusion at Canterbury, and his place at Lincoln was given to Henry Beaufort by a papal provision, which one chronicler attributes to the action of the Crown.

The next was a memorable year for the young bishop. Early in 1399 he was at S. Alban's, purchasing the hospitality of the convent for himself and his widowed mother and the honour of solemn obsequies for his father's remains on their way to burial in London, by a recognition of the abbot's claim to exemption from the jurisdiction of the see of Lincoln. A little later he was one of the few companions of Richard II on his misguided expedition to Ireland and on his dilatory return to face Henry of Lancaster. The claims of nearer kinship or the pressure of the inevitable threw him on Henry's side, and in the parliament of October his voice went with those of the twenty-one other prelates and the thirty-six temporal peers who pronounced openly for the "safe and secret imprisonment" of his late sovereign and patron. In the same year he held the chancellorship of the University of Oxford, and was entrusted with the superintendence of the education of his young nephew Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V.

The part that Beaufort played in the troublous reign of Henry IV was mainly political. In the parliament of 1401 he appears for the first of many times on one of the committees of peers that sat to try petitions, and in 1402 he was a member of the small advisory council of bishops and barons formed at the request of the Commons to act in conjunction with the Lower House. In February, 1403, he was promoted to his first tenure of the chancellorship. There is little record of his precise share in the events of the reign, but in his speeches at the opening of parliament after parliament he stands forth as the exponent, if he was not the author, of a policy of constitutional government which recognized the importance of the co-operation of all the estates of the realm as clearly as it asserted the supremacy of the Crown. It was indeed a time of serious difficulty for Crown and Church and Country. Distress and dissatisfaction at home gave a pretext to the revolt of the Percies, and found expression now in the complaints of the Commons, who spoke plainly about the extravagances of the Crown and demanded redress before supply, and now in the wilder clamour of the court party for the partial disendowment of the Church to meet the needs of wars and rumours of wars in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and France. The last chancellor, Bishop Stafford, had opened the parliament of 1402 with the confession, "God has inflicted punishment in divers manners upon this realm." Beaufort opened the session of January, 1404, with a sermon on the text "In multitude of counsellors there is safety," and drew an elaborate picture of the realm as a body in which the right side represented the spiritual estate, the left the temporal, and the other limbs the commonalty. His practical conclusions dealt chiefly with the military needs of the nation. But the Commons supplied the blanks of the picture with an array of complaints, which forced the Crown into purchasing support by consenting to the removal of aliens, the reform of the royal household, and the publication of the names of a "great and continual council" drawn from all the estates. The parliament of October, 1404, was memorable in two ways. The absence of lawyers from its ranks earned for it the name of "the unlearned

parliament"; and the proposal of the knights of the shires to appropriate clerical property for one year to military purposes, for which the chancellor had in his speech requested further supplies, drew from the primate a retort that the knights should have left the alien priories in the hands of the king, and from the Bishop of Rochester the reminder that the proposal itself, being a violation of the Great Charter, meant excommunication for its authors. But Beaufort's name is not mentioned in connexion with this scheme and its rejection; and it is as probable that the prohibition of the lawyers was due to royal letters to the sheriffs as that it was inserted by the chancellor in the writs of summons. Neither is the chancellor-bishop's attitude towards the taxation of the clergy obvious. Convocation made its own grants, but was unwilling or unable to bring the stipendiary priests under contribution, and Archbishop Arundel advised the king to bring episcopal pressure to bear on this section of the clergy. The primate and his suffragans had an interview with the chancellor, the treasurer, and the keeper of the privy seal, and the result was that the officers of the Crown recommended that the letters to the bishops should bear the king's own signet instead of the privy seal; but it is not clear whether this suggestion, if it was the chancellor's, was prompted by the desire to secure the grant or to spare the bishops.

On the death of Wykeham in 1404 the co-operation of king and pope transferred Beaufort early in 1405 from Lincoln to Winchester, and he resigned the chancellorship. The idea that his resignation was due to the loss of his royal brother's favour seems inconsistent with his promotion to Winchester, and with his employment in 1406 and afterwards as an ambassador to treat for truce or peace with France and to arrange a marriage between the prince of Wales and a daughter of the French king. But it is evident that although he was a member of the council his influence was limited by the prominence of a rival, the primate Arundel, who became chancellor early in 1407. It is difficult to define the position of the different parties in the state at this point. The House of Commons was steadily asserting its rights in relation to

the king and to the lords. The court was divided around Arundel and Beaufort. The archbishop exercised considerable influence over the king; Beaufort and his brothers had the prince of Wales on their side, and together formed "a younger and more popular" party. It is their relation to parliament or rather their position in parliament which is hard to estimate. Their rival Arundel by his arbitrary enforcement of ecclesiastical constitutions on Lollardy had aroused an opposition, which led to his resignation of the chancellorship, and he was succeeded by a layman, Thomas Beaufort, brother of the bishop. When parliament met in 1410 the new chancellor was not yet installed, and his brother the bishop opened the session with an oration from the text "it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness." His appeal for loyal support of the Crown, illustrated though it was by a quotation of Aristotle's advice to Alexander that the security of a realm lay in the affection of a people protected in the enjoyment of their rights, was met by the Commons with a more drastic proposal of disendowment, which was defeated by the prince and his party. Yet it was the Commons that in the session of November, 1411, prayed the king to thank the prince, the bishop of Winchester, and other prelates and peers for their recent services as members of the council. The cry of disendowment probably came from the Lollard element; on the whole, parliament was with the Beauforts and the prince.

But the situation was intricate. The rivalry between Arundel and Beaufort (the son of an old enemy of the Arundel family) and the opposition between court and parliament were complicated by the jealousy that divided the royal house, and set brother against brother and father against son. The prince of Wales appears now as the champion of the academic liberties of Oxford against the primate, now as the friend of Beaufort in his quarrel with the prince's brother Thomas over the estate of the bishop's brother, whose widow, regent in fact, if not in name, Thomas had married during the chancellorship. The prince was to all appearance Thomas Beaufort. The king's intermittent malady left the prince at the head of the council. But at the close of 1411

the king reasserted his position, and Beaufort was replaced by Arundel. The change is attributed by the chroniclers to a request of the prince of Wales, prompted by the Beauforts, that the king would resign the crown in his favour. The king's indignant refusal led to the prince's retirement from court and council, and his brother's promotion to his place. The complicity of the Beauforts in the prince's design depends upon the statement of the annalists. But it is a significant fact that in 1426 when the bishop so vigorously repudiated other charges against his loyalty to the crown under the three Henries, he was practically silent upon this charge. There is no doubt of the Beauforts' share in the disgrace of the prince. It is true that when he responded to the vote of confidence in parliament with a declaration of the sincerity of his own and his colleagues' efforts for good government, and a regret that their success had been limited by want of means, the king replied that he was "quite satisfied of their good and loyal diligence, counsel, and duty for the time that they were of his council." But the Burgundian alliance, the deliberate policy of the bishop and the prince, sealed already by a brilliant victory of the English contingent at S. Cloud in 1411, was flung aside for a disastrous expedition on behalf of their antagonists the Armagnacs, to which the bishop, so ready to contribute to national objects, gave neither loan nor gift. Beaufort's name is absent from the council records of the rest of the reign. But in less than a year Henry IV was dead, and the day after his death the chancellorship was transferred by his son from Arundel to Beaufort.

For four years Beaufort was second only to the king. He opened session after session of parliament with speeches in which the commonplaces of political wisdom, and the practical needs of the hour, were prefaced by more or less forced applications of biblical texts. The two main aims of his policy were the repression of disorder at home and the vindication of the English claims in France. Historical criticism has discredited the assertion of later chroniclers that the French war was the suggestion of an episcopate alarmed by the Lollard cry for disendowment. The sequence of events

indicates rather that as far as Beaufort was concerned the proceedings against Lollardy in convocation and parliament were perhaps intended to set the government free to deal with the situation abroad. He sat as an assessor of Arundel in the trial of Oldcastle in September, 1413, and the abortive Lollard rising of January, 1414, gave point to his opening appeal to the parliament of that year. Arundel had dealt with the Lollard question in convocation from the standpoint of a churchman. Beaufort's attitude was rather that of the statesman. Speaking from the text, "He hath applied his heart to understand the laws," he laid stress indeed upon the need of keeping "the laws of God and the Christian faith," and upon the troubling of the "holy church of England" by the malice of "certain people of England infected with heresies called Lollards"; but he spoke of the danger to the realm as well as to the Church, and made pointed reference to the social and economic aspects of the movement, stating finally that the king asked not for subsidies but for "advice and aid in good governance." Parliament responded with a statute which gave the secular power the right of taking the initiative in proceedings against the Lollards.

The work of Beaufort during the next three years centred mainly round the French war. In July he was one of the ambassadors who stated the king's terms to the French court, and in November he opened parliament with a note of war. "Fight to the death for the right," he began, turning at once to the text, "while we have time let us do good." The abbreviation was significant, but only less unjustifiable than the application which drew from the successive stages of plant-life, bud, flower, and fruit, the moral that so to man also is given a time for peace, a time for war, a time for work. In April, 1415, he notified to the privy council the king's resolve to proclaim war against France, the result of the great council of the preceding days, and stated the arrangements made for carrying on the government of the country in the king's absence. In May he was communicating the king's instructions to the bishops to take strenuous steps against Lollard disaffection in their dioceses. He placed his own

resources, derived in part from his revenues, in greater part from the command of money which his credit and his position gave him, unhesitatingly at the disposal of the Crown, now and again afterwards; and if his requirement of security on the customs or on the property of the Crown seemed at times grasping, it must be remembered that he provided more than one loan before its predecessors had been repaid, and that the requirement was made as much in the future interests of the Crown and kingdom as in his own. He left no source of subsidy untried. In May, 1415, he used the Fleet prison to enforce the principle that foreign merchants must contribute to the needs of the nation in consideration of the privileges of trading within its borders.

He had his reward. Early on October 29 the chancellor rode into the city of London to tell the mayor the news of the victory of Agincourt. The church bells rang out, the news was publicly proclaimed at St. Paul's at nine o'clock, and the queen-mother went in solemn procession, with bishops and barons and clergy and friars, to the shrine of St. Edward at Westminster. A week later Beaufort appealed to parliament for the maintenance of law and order at home and for hearty support for the king, "as he has done to us, so let us do to him." In March, 1416, he urged the need of perseverance, "he has opened us the way," and "dimidium facti qui bene coepit habet." The chronicler of the Gesta Henrici Quinti gives an elaborate analysis of the chancellor's speech, with its three proofs of divine judgement in favour of the English claims, Sluys, Crecy, and Agincourt, and its three points of advantage gained, the command of the harbours, the courage of success, and the possession of an army in being.

In April came the state visit of Sigismund, king of the Romans, on a self-imposed mission of peace. Beaufort explained at the reopening of parliament after Easter that the king was not yet able to publish the negotiations, but would shortly ask the advice of the estates. As bishop of Winchester he installed Sigismund among the knights of St. George at Windsor; as chancellor he had a hand in the alliance with

Sigismund against France which was substituted in August for Sigismund's dream of a general peace.

Archbishop Chicheley, pained to learn the slackness in prayer of clergy and people, appealed to his suffragans for the intercessions of the faithful on behalf of the king of the Romans, labouring for the unity of the Church. Beaufort, returning from a visit to France with the king, in which they had secured the support of Burgundy against the French court, opened the parliament of October with a call to vigorous action. In the terms of the alliance with Sigismund, which was confirmed by this parliament, the king of the Romans is described as working to restore the unity and liberty of the Church, and to allay the strife of Europe. But Sigismund had passed from arbitrator to partisan, and Beaufort's estimate of the situation was correctly summed in his text, "operam detis ut quieti sitis." Lord Campbell misinterpreted this as an attempt to tranquillize a House of Commons bent on limiting the judicial encroachments of the chancellor's office. It was clearly a plea for war as the only way to peace. "Bella faciamus," he proceeded, "ut pacem habeamus, quia finis belli pax." In November he voiced the king's needs in convocation with good result in the shape of a grant of two-tenths. When parliament met in 1417 he had resigned the chancellorship, and was abroad on his first great intervention in the affairs of the Church at large as the trusted servant of the English Crown, not perhaps without a policy or at least an aspiration of his own. Apart from the few occasions on which Beaufort acted as the agent or substitute of the primate in the summoning of convocation, or as the agent of the king in appealing to convocation for subsidies, there is no record of his share in the affairs of the Church at home. The bishop was absorbed in the chancellor, the privy councillor, the ambassador; and from 1407 to 1417 the diocese of Winchester was practically dependent for pastoral offices upon the suffragan bishop of Selymbria. It was in the relations of the Church of England with the divided Papacy that Beaufort's ecclesiastical energies found a congenial sphere. Already in 1401 and again in 1402 the Commons had prayed

the king to take steps to heal the papal schism which had then for twenty years distracted the religious and the political life of western Christendom. The petition contained a saving clause deprecating any serious cost to the nation, and the king promised to take counsel with his lords spiritual, and in the second case with the other lords and wise men of the realm also. The king of the Romans had already appealed to Henry IV as the deciding factor in the European situation, according to the chancellor, Bishop Stafford. At last in July a committee of convocation was appointed to consider the ways and means of ending the schism. Beaufort was one of the members. It was resolved, in the presence, and with the approval of the king, that the payment of papal dues should be suspended until Gregory XII had satisfied the representatives of the English Crown, Church, and nation, that he was doing his best to restore the unity of the Papacy. The ultimatum was entrusted to Beaufort, the abbot of Shrewsbury, Lord Scrope, and the chancellors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In November the cardinal-archbishop of Bordeaux visited England on behalf of the cardinals to secure support for a general council at Pisa. Henry welcomed the prospect and proposed to send seven prelates and doctors to represent the rest of the bishops and the universities—an imposing body cut down later by the requirements of economy. Almost on the eve of the council Gregory made a last effort to come to terms with his rivals, and named Beaufort as his representative, but there is no record of Beaufort's consent or action in the matter. The council met, pronounced both popes schismatics, and elected a new pope, Alexander V, largely, it is said, in consequence of a vigorous advocacy of this line of action by Bishop Hallam of Salisbury. The whole question of the reform of the Church was postponed to a future council. The death of Alexander within a year brought to the papal throne the notorious Baldassare Cossa, whose efforts to secure a general council of his own failed, and at last, pressed hard on the one side by the imperial power of Sigismund, king of the Romans, and on the other by the ecclesiastical influence

of the University of Paris, he had to consent to the holding of a council at Constance, in an atmosphere of German predominance which boded ill for papal hopes.

The briefest sketch of the proceedings of this council would exceed the space at our disposal, which permits only a glance at those points where the council has a bearing on the policy of England or the career of Beaufort. The task that lay before the council was threefold. It had to restore the unity of the Church by giving Rome a single pope. It had to deal with that growing demand for reform of the Church in its head and members, in which bishops, canonists, and statesmen were agreed, upon the question of urgency, and differed only upon the question of methods and extent. It had to face the ecclesiastical aspect of a crisis in Bohemia in which conflicting views of doctrine and discipline coincided with the rivalry of Slav and German alike in the University of Prag and among the people at large. Its composition was as significant as its magnitude was imposing. The interaction of civil and ecclesiastical policy in the Europe of the day was concentrated at the Council of Constance, "the meeting-place," it has been called, "of all the national interests of Christendom." It "may be regarded not only as a great assembly of the Church, but also as a great diet of the mediaeval empire." Princes, barons and knights accompanied thither or met there bishops, cardinals, abbots and doctors. The whole body of delegates was organized, on the suggestion of Bishop Hallam, by nations —the Germans, the French, the English, the Italians, with the cardinals, at last ranking by their own insistence as a body beside the nations. It was this assertion of the nations within the Church which foiled the plans of John XXIII by destroying the predominance of his packed Italian hierarchy, and made his deposition a certainty. But it was this same element of nationalism which wrecked the project of reform in the Church. Specific grievances were shelved because the varying weight of their incidence upon different nations meant varying degrees of interest in their removal. And when the Council had elected its own new pope, he was able to postpone the main questions of real reform by separate

concordats with the different nations on points of detail. Most fatal of all was the emergence of the political interests of the nations in the second year of the council. The first year of its action had seen the deposition of John XXIII and the enforced abdication of Gregory XII, the condemnation of Wyclif's writings, and the suppression of Huss at the stake, the establishment, in spite of the cardinals, of the authority of a general council independently of the pope—all the work of a council in which the nations acted so far in unison. In July, 1415, Sigismund departed on his mission of pacification. He won Spain to join the council, but the rivalry of Burgundian and Orleanist baffled his hope of reconciling England and France after Agincourt, and he crossed to England to make a defensive alliance against France. When he returned to Constance early in 1417 the war had torn the council in two. National jealousy had set France against England, and Sigismund, the practical president of the council, was now no more than a partisan of England. The three nations most bent on reform were robbed of their joint predominance by mutual suspicion, and what they lost the cardinals now gained. The adhesion of Spain to the council gave France a pretext for the vain but embittering demand that England should count with Germany as one nation to make room for Spain. The Spanish demand that the preliminaries of a new papal election should take precedence of all other questions raised the long latent issue whether the reform was to be real reform by the council or nominal reform by a pope. Various reasons by degrees drew the French into closer adhesion to the party that stood for the Roman Curia; and the council resolved itself into a trial of strength between Sigismund and the cardinals, the champion and the opponents of the cause of reformation. They consented to let reform precede the election; he had to accept, instead of general reform, a reform limited in extent to the papal throne and court. And still they pressed for immediate election, to secure a pope before the council was drawn into subservience to Sigismund's suspected design of making himself with Henry V at his side the master of Europe. Hallam's death in

September, 1417, removed a strong man, whose support of Sigismund had held the German and English nations at the council in close union, and Sigismund discovered with indignant surprise that the English had begun to negotiate with the cardinals, though still professing a desire to follow his lead. The meaning of this change of front is not obvious. An interesting letter from one of the English laymen at the council in 1416 described two of the bishops as "fully disposed by the consent of all your other ambassadors to sue the reformation in the church, in the head and in the members, having no reward to no benefice that they have rather than it should be undone," and the writer adds that he is sure "they will abide hard and nigh all ways by the good advice and deliberation of your brother the King of Rome." Their desertion of Sigismund a year later may have been the act of a party bereft of the leader who was the embodiment of its policy. But in the light of a stringent letter from Henry in July, 1417, forbidding his lay delegates to join any other "nation" without the knowledge of the bishops, and instructing the English bishops to decide differences of opinion within the English "nation" by the voice of the majority, it seems unlikely that he would tolerate or permit a change of front so complete as an overture to the cardinals to be made by the English representatives on their own responsibility. The journal of Cardinal Filastre states that they abandoned Sigismund at the bidding of the king of England. In the absence of any record of such reversal of their original instructions, we are left to infer that Hallam had discretionary powers, which his weaker colleagues hastened to use in the deadlock which he had not despaired of forcing. They may have regarded their procedure as an act of mediation between Sigismund and the cardinals, but its secrecy was a confession of desertion. The probable motives which led Henry to initiate and press a policy of compromise are analysed with masterly skill by the English historian of the Papacy. The sequel is soon told. Sigismund was driven to consent to the election of a pope without the guarantee which he had required of the cardinals, that the pope should deal with the

question of reformation immediately after his election. The party of reform had to be satisfied with a decree of the council providing for the recurrence of general councils. The last difficulty arose over the question of the part to be taken by the cardinals in the all-important election. It was at this juncture that Beaufort appeared upon the scene. Three days after the letter to the delegates at Constance, dated July 18, Henry requested the privy council to give letters of safe-conduct to Henry, bishop of Winchester, bound for the Holy Land in fulfilment of an old vow of pilgrimage. Two days later the great seal was resigned by Beaufort and transferred to the bishop of Durham. In September the ex-chancellor was at Bruges, intervening with letters to the chancellor on behalf of local merchants aggrieved by the seizure of their wares on Genoese ships at Plymouth, and on behalf of the wife of an acting treasurer at Calais left helpless for want of instructions from the privy council at home. In October he was at Ulm, in suggestive proximity to the Council of Constance. It has been conjectured with great likelihood that he was sent by Henry to convey to Sigismund a personal explanation of Henry's conversion to the wisdom or necessity of compromise, and to co-operate with him in carrying out the altered Anglo-German policy. How far Henry's change of view was due, if at all, to the chancellor, whose enthusiasm over the Sigismundian alliance was perhaps giving place to visions of European influence for England, and diplomatic laurels or ecclesiastical honour for himself, is a question upon which there is but surmise available. The actual intervention of Beaufort in the affairs of the council came "at the suggestion of the English nation," and what he did was not to decide for the election of a pope before the facing of the problems of reform, but to mediate between Sigismund and the cardinals in the settlement of the details of procedure. The final compromise included a guarantee of reform after the election, an adoption of those proposals of reform on which all the nations were agreed, and a commission to frame the procedure of election. The conclave began on November 8, and ended on the 11th in the election

of Cardinal Oddo Colonna, largely through the solid support of the English vote. The council had chosen a head, and found a master. Beaufort had made a friend, and opened out for himself a new prospect. One of the first acts of Colonna, now Martin V, was to nominate Henry of Winchester to the dignity of cardinal and papal legate. On December 22 the college of cardinals wrote to Henry V describing the election of Martin V and gratefully commending the services of the English ambassadors at the council to the recognition of their sovereign. On December 23 Martin wrote to Henry to announce his own election. On December 28 Martin issued at the council, in Beaufort's presence, a bull appointing him cardinal without any title, and apostolic legate in England, Wales, and Ireland, and promised to publish the appointment on a convenient occasion and to send him the insignia of his new office. A week later Beaufort was entrusted by Martin with the task of placing the deposed Cossa in formal custody as the prisoner of the Papacy. But Martin's plans and Beaufort's hopes were baffled by a protest from the primate which was supported by the king. The gratitude which offered the bishop of Winchester the cardinalate was revealed in its true character by the addition of the legatine office; it was evidently now a lively anticipation of favours to come. Martin seems plainly to have counted upon Beaufort's help in bringing the English Church into subservience to the papal claim of the right of universal presentation, or in obtaining from the English realm the modification, if not the repeal, of its anti-papal legislation. Beaufort could not have been ignorant of this intention or unwilling to contemplate all that it involved. His motives in accepting the position may be postponed to a later point in his career. We can only note here the grounds of the English protest against his acceptance. Archbishop Chicheley wrote to Henry V on March 6, 1418, protesting against the appointment of a legatus a latere for life. (1) It was, he urged, an intrusion into the normal working of "your Chirche of Yngland . . . . . governed after streit lawes and holy constitutions" of its own regulation; (2) it was an office charged by canon law with

great actual powers and unlimited in its possible extension by the Pope, "for it stond in his wille to dispose as hym good liketh"; (3) it was a transgression of all precedent, which in the case of England was confined to legatine commissions issued to deal with special questions of importance and expiring with the settlement of those questions. The letter closed with a petition that the king would consider the matter and see (1) "that the staat of the Chirche be meyntenid and susteynid, so that everich of the ministers theroffe hold hem content with her owne part,"—a hint perhaps at Beaufort's personal ambition, and (2) that the nation should not be subjected to exactions that would cripple its support of the Crown. Henry's response was to forbid Beaufort's acceptance of the papal offer. Twenty-two years later Gloucester headed his indictment of Beaufort with a reference to this affair, in which he attributed to Henry the remark that "he had as leef sette his coronne beside hym as to see him were a cardinal's hatta." He added that Henry "thought that it shulde be ayeinst the fredam of the chieff chirche of this royaume, whiche he worshipped duely, as ever did prince . . . Howe be it that my saide lord, youre fadre, wolde have agreed hym to have had certaine clerks of this lande cardinals, they having noo bishopriches in Englande, yet his entent was never to do so greet derogacion to the chirche of Caunterbury to make hem that were his suffrigans to sitte above thair ordinarie and metropolitan." The disappointed bishop resumed his journey to the Holy Land, and returned to England in 1419. But his personal relations with the king remained undisturbed. He flung himself into the work of parliament and council, and renewed his loans to the Crown. He was an honoured guest at the coronation of Henry and his French bride in 1421, and stood as godfather to the infant prince born at Windsor. Henry's dying wishes named him as one of the guardians of the child-king, and bequeathed to him a service-book which Henry IV had had written and illuminated for himself in his illness in 1408.

The career of Beaufort during the reign of Henry VI falls most fitly under two heads, (1) the policy of the statesman,

at home and abroad, (2) the policy of the churchman, mainly concerned with the external relations of the English church. His policy as a statesman seems clear. It centres round his relations with the Duke of Gloucester, the late king's youngest brother. Henry V's last wishes gave the trusteeship of English possessions and interests in France to the soldier-brother Bedford, the protectorship at home to Gloucester, the guardianship of the infant-king to the Beauforts—the bishop and his brother Thomas, duke of Exeter—with others; and it was the bishop of Winchester who led or carried the opposition to Gloucester's efforts to make himself regent and master at home. The privy council insisted on Gloucester's acting as its servant, and parliament appointed him to act as protector only in the absence of Bedford. Regulations were framed for the proceedings of council which secured regularity of attendance and equality of influence at the council, and equal advantages for petitioners of all classes. The quarrel between Gloucester and Beaufort, which for twenty-five years entered into all affairs of state, has been attributed by Gloucester's partisans to Beaufort's personal jealousy of his rival. This motive is inadequate. Beaufort and his brothers were at once supporters of the Lancastrian dynasty and upholders of constitutional government, and the self-seeking action of Gloucester threatened to imperil both crown and nation. Beaufort's policy was both wise and loyal, and Bedford abroad was at one with Beaufort at home. Gloucester's reckless scheme of winning Hainault on his wife's account, in defiance of the claims of Burgundy, took the heart out of the Burgundian alliance which Bedford had secured as the key to the position in France, and Beaufort and the council spoke their mind on the subject in England. In July, 1424, Beaufort was made chancellor, either, it has been suggested, as a precaution on Bedford's part against his brother's wild schemes, or by way of compromise with Gloucester himself before he set sail for Hainault. The chancellor's speeches in parliament in 1425 and 1426 lay stress on the needs of the time, obedience to law, wise counsel, and financial support. Both years were marked by an acute conflict with Gloucester. The scene of

the first was the city of London, where the chancellor's concessions to Flemish traders roused the citizens into posting violent placards on his palace gates and threatening his life. Beaufort garrisoned the Tower with men from the duchy of Lancaster, sent for the royal guards from Windsor and the prentices of the Inns of Court, and arrested certain prominent citizens. Gloucester ordered the mayor to prevent the bishop's entrance at London Bridge, but the bishop's men forced the passage. The shops were shut for fear of the divided populace, the citizens rallied to their mayor, and an open fight was only averted by the intervention of Archbishop Chicheley and the king's cousin the duke of Coimbra, who rode backwards and forwards eight times in the day between the opposing parties. Beaufort wrote at once to Bedford urging his immediate return. "By my truth, if you tarry, we shall put this land in adventure with a field, such a brother you have here," and he added, "your wisdom knoweth that the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England." Bedford came, but the dispute was not settled until the "parliament of bats" met at Leicester in February, 1426. At the urgent request of the Commons, Bedford and the peers took a solemn oath of arbitration. Gloucester's case was that Beaufort had closed the Tower against him, had designed to seize the king's person, had planned the murder of Gloucester, had plotted against the life of Henry V when he was prince of Wales, and had urged him to demand the crown in his father's lifetime. Beaufort met the charges with an explanation or a denial. By order of the arbitrators he solemnly denied the truth of the charges of treason against the three kings, and Bedford in the king's name declared him loyal; he then disavowed all designs against Gloucester, who accepted the disavowal, and the two shook hands, on the 12th of March. Two days later Beaufort resigned the chancellorship, apparently regarding the arbitration as a defeat in spite of the evident sympathy of Bedford, and in May requested the king in consideration of his "humble chaplain's long continuance in his service" to give him license to fulfil an old vow of pilgrimage. He attended the council four times during the

next winter, and when he went abroad with Bedford in March, 1427, it was to receive the insignia of a cardinal. The rest of Beaufort's energies found scope in foreign or ecclesiastical affairs, but two incidents of home administration come fitly here, as illustrating his character. In 1433, when Bedford returned to England to vindicate his conduct of affairs, "Henry cardinal of England" was prominent among those who supported him against Gloucester and pressed for his remaining at home to reform the state of affairs. The treasurer's budget led Bedford to sacrifice a large part of his official salary, and Beaufort with four other prelates followed his example by agreeing to forgo their allowance as councillors, on condition that they were not required to attend in vacation. In 1442 it was proposed to assign for the payment of the king's debts a part of a subsidy already marked for a similar purpose. All the councillors gave their approval but the cardinal, who protested on behalf of the persons holding claims on the subsidy in question: "so by this mean no man hereafter should trust none assignment, whereto he will in no wise consent"; and the treasurer supported the old financier's protest on behalf of honesty as the best policy in national finance.

Beaufort's churchmanship has left but little trace in the internal history of the English church. In April, 1425, on his appearance in convocation as chancellor to commend the prosperity of king and country to the prayers of the clergy, and to request a subsidy for Bedford's operations in France, he directed the attention of the prelates and clergy to "certain defects in the English Church, then more prominent than usual," which people said were diminishing their devotion to the Church. This warning probably refers to questions of clerical morals or church discipline, and may perhaps be read in the light of the chancellor's appeal in the Parliament of February, 1426, for the "observance of divine law and defence of the divine flock against the invasion of perfidious heretics and Lollards." The Church must set her house in order if the State was to guard her position. It was not enough to suppress the Lollard; the abuses which justified

his protests must be reformed. It is a remarkable fact, in the face of this, that in March, 1426, the council gave Prosper Colonna, the nephew of Pope Martin V, permission to hold English benefices to the annual value of 500 marks, on the presentation to the king of papal bulls securing the rights of presentation to the patrons on the next vacancy.

The main interest of the last twenty years of Beaufort's life centres round his cardinalate. His resignation of the chancellorship was Martin's opportunity, even if it was not prompted by the prospect of a path to greatness opening Romewards as the door closed upon his ambitions at home. Martin had two purposes to serve. In the first place, he was bent upon the removal of the statutes which barred the free exercise of papal claims in England. Henry V in 1421 and the Council of Regency in 1422 had ignored his appeal for their abolition, but his success in overawing Chicheley into the withdrawal of his proclamation of indulgences to pilgrims to Canterbury was a distinct step towards the degradation of the English episcopate. Henry of Winchester seemed the man to help him in vindicating the claim of the Pope to be the "universal bishop, the Ordinary of ordinaries," and he wrote to him denouncing the execrable statute of Praemunire which gave the King the Pope's due, and urging him to follow in the steps of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who gave his life for the liberties of the Church. He was to work himself in council and in Parliament, and to enlist the voice of the clergy in their pulpits, and to report the results to Rome. The second purpose that Martin had in view was to secure the success of his next campaign against the victorious Hussites of Bohemia. Beaufort was nominated cardinal-priest of St. Eusebius on May 24, 1426. In June the crushing defeat of the Saxon resistance to the Bohemian advance on Aussig called for a strong man to unite and lead the divided and undisciplined forces of Germany, and a man of rank and influence to win the support of England and France for the cause of the Church. Martin found both men in Beaufort. In March, 1427, the new cardinal was appointed papal legate in Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary—with the full approval of Sigismund—who had

received the red hat of his office at the hands of the Duke of Bedford in St. Mary's Church at Calais on Lady Day, 1427, and wrote to Martin from Mechlin on June 15 in high spirits, accepting his mission and promising immediate action. Pausing on his march with an English contingent at Nuremberg in a vain attempt to reconcile a prelate and a prince, he crossed the Bohemian frontier only to meet the huge German army pouring back in panic from Mies to Tachau before an unseen foe. Astounded at their cowardice, he implored them to face the enemy, unfurled the papal ensign, and placed himself, crucifix in hand, at the head of a band of stalwarts. The army rallied, and he made the princes take an oath of mutual fidelity; but the approach of the Bohemians, weak in number but rendered formidable by their famous fighting-wagons, started a second panic. This time Henry of Winchester strove in vain to check the stampede. Pleading and threatening in turn to deaf ears, he seized the imperial flag, tore it in pieces, and flung them with words of scorn and anger at the feet of the German princes, retreating himself at the last only to save his person from the hands of the Hussites. The Germans covered their disgrace by charging the princes with treachery. Beaufort attributed the disaster to want of organization and tactics, and set himself and others to raise a small paid standing army. At the same time he instructed two graduates of Prague to undertake the work of disputation against the leading heretics, rather perhaps to conciliate the moderate party than to confute the extremists. Meanwhile Martin wrote to his legate urging him to collect a fresh army, to press the crusade upon the German princes and bishops as primarily their concern, and above all to remove the apathy of the laity by working for the enforcement of clerical discipline and the settlement of inter-episcopal feuds. Beaufort summoned an imperial diet at Frankfort in the winter, and a "Hussite-tax" was ordered to provide funds for an expedition to be commanded by Beaufort and Frederick of Brandenburg, with a small federal council to superintend the preparations. Beaufort's scheme for the reorganization of the empire promised well, but his return to England to collect funds left it to fail

for want of patriotism and self-sacrifice on the part of the German princes.

Chicheley had already, in obedience to Martin's bull of April, 1427, instructed the bishops and clergy of England in January, 1428, to publish and press the crusade, and had appointed preachers and confessors to enroll crusaders. In May the papal nuncio brought the matter before the privy council, but nothing was done beyond solemn processions until Beaufort arrived in September. Convocation met the papal nuncio's demand for the tenth specified in the bull with a refusal barely tempered by the conditional offer of a small grant. Beaufort was busy in the Lent of 1429 in a conference on the border with the Scottish king and queen on important matters "touching the state of the Catholic faith and the honour and advantage of the universal Church, as well as the honour and interest of the realm," i. e. the question of obtaining Scottish support for the crusade, and perhaps also the question of preventing Scottish aid to France. In June he appealed to the council for permission to raise an English force of 500 spears and 5,000 bowmen for the Bohemian expedition. The terms of his petition mark at once the zeal of the churchman and the prudence of the soldier. He asked for power (1) to publish the crusade in all parts of England, remarking, with an obvious allusion to Bishop Despenser's expedition against the French anti-Pope, that "cruciats have been late seen in this land where the cause was not so great;" (2) to enlist any man who would offer his services "only of devotion and for soul's health." But he proposed to specify a definite rate of pay, to appoint his own officers, to enforce strict military discipline upon the volunteer as well as the mercenary, and to retain sufficient ships for transport; and he announced his intention "not under colour of the said cruciat to suffer no religious men, namely in no great number or such that I may have any conjecturation would take benefice of the said cruciat rather for to walk in apostasy than for desire of merit, to go over in the said expedition." The council, in view of other national burdens, limited the number of the force to 250 spears and 2,000 bows, and the contributions of the people to voluntary

offerings to be spent on the purchase of supplies in England for the troops raised in England; and the cardinal was also required to refrain from recruiting from the English forces in France, to use his crusaders only for "the reduction or chastising of the heretics of Bohemia," except that he might take 200 as an escort to "the Court of Rome," and to provide for the return of the force to England. The cardinal started with his men on June 22, but when he left Dover it was to proceed direct to the relief of Bedford, hard pressed outside Paris. The raising of the siege of Orleans took place on May 8. The coronation of Charles VII at Rheims followed (July 17, 1429). Alarmed by the news of his danger, the council urged upon Beaufort the necessity of allowing his crusaders to serve for six months in France, and promised to reimburse the Pope for the cost of the force. There is much that is inexcusable in the agreement dated on July 1 between Beaufort and the council at Rochester. Beaufort was to be sheltered by dispatches ordering Bedford to retain the crusaders in France. The bonds given to Beaufort for the repayment of the cost to the Pope were then to be replaced by others dated after the issue of Bedford's orders. Bedford was to be induced by Beaufort to pay as much as possible of this cost, and the bonds of the councillors were to be reduced accordingly. Letters were to be sent to the Pope and the German princes to explain and excuse the procedure of all concerned. The Pope wrote to Charles VII of France indignantly denying all knowledge of the rumoured diversion of the English crusaders against a faithful son of the Church; and in a second letter, expressing at once his regret and his helplessness, he gave the explanation with which Beaufort had met his protest. He had acted, he said, by order of the Crown, stated in terms that precluded disobedience, and his men were not in a mood to be forced into Bohemia when they knew they were wanted in France. Martin himself assigned the blame in anonymous but obvious terms to "others who preferred to pursue their own interest rather than the common interest of the orthodox faith." Bedford seems at least included in this reference to the English privy council, for in mingled anger and disappointment he wrote again to Beaufort,

forbidding him to dishonour the Pope and disgrace himself by displaying the insignia of a papal legate in France, and a year or more later he appointed a new legate for Germany. Beaufort's action has been severely judged. The reward of 1,000 marks given him by the council for his compliance has been unwarrantably described as his inducement. It was an altogether insufficient compensation for the certain loss of his reputation at Rome. The desire to "disarm domestic opponents" is a more reasonable explanation, if the opposition is taken to mean not the general attitude of Gloucester so much as the protest of the council against the legatine office. But it is at least as probable that Beaufort was not only anxious to win confidence for himself and his future action as legate by showing his willingness to postpone his own interests to those of his country, but was himself convinced, like the council, that the need of the hour was the crisis in France, and consented to come to the rescue in the hope that his help would so restore the balance of success that he might soon pass on to the discharge of his original commission. The whole affair was a vivid illustration of the real difficulty of serving two masters, and all our disapproval of the terms of the compromise need not preclude our appreciation of the fact that when the inevitable choice had to be made, Beaufort chose to risk the loss of a papal career for the sake of his country's gain.

For the last twenty years of his life Beaufort was occupied with two great questions, the conclusion of the war in France and the intermittent conflict at home, which owed its gravity to the persistent enmity of Gloucester, and found its points of attack at one time in the ecclesiastical position of Beaufort, at another in his foreign policy. The war in France, involving as it does only incidental reference to questions of ecclesiastical moment, need only be sketched here in outline. While there seemed a prospect of victory, Beaufort spared no pains to realize the hope of retaining the hold of the English crown upon France. He contributed loans, he gave moral and military support to Bedford, he strove by concession and conciliation to keep Burgundy on the English side. The coronation of the boy-king was hastened in England to

facilitate his coronation in Paris. He travelled again and again across the Channel to raise supplies, and to keep the powers at home and the powers abroad united in the prosecution of the war with the utmost vigour. But the English cause continued to lose ground in France. The trial and death of Jeanne d'Arc, in which Beaufort and Bedford share the responsibility for the proceedings of their instrument the presiding judge, the Bishop of Beauvais, was a fruitless crime. The loyalty of the young king's French subjects was lost, in sympathy with the indignant protest of the Bishop of Paris that the cardinal should "do such a high ceremony in his church and jurisdiction." Bedford's remarriage after the death of his popular Burgundian wife alienated England's great ally, and Beaufort tried in vain to bring the two dukes together again. Meanwhile the French Court was experiencing the new strength that comes with reunion and reform. Beaufort was wise enough to read the handwriting on the wall betimes, and strong enough to revise the policy of England. The trend of events took clear shape in the Convention of Arras in 1435, where the negotiations broke down over the refusal of the English ambassadors to grant the French demand for the surrender of Henry's title of King of France. Beaufort and his colleagues foresaw the withdrawal of Burgundy from the English to the French side, and left the congress. A week later Bedford died, and with him died the best hopes of his life and work. The nation's first thought, voiced and carried into action by Gloucester, was to revenge itself upon its faithless Burgundian ally, who had concluded a formal treaty of peace with the King of France a week after Bedford's death. But the attempt failed, Paris was recovered by the French, and Calais was only just saved by a Beaufort. The cardinal, hopeless now of conquest, was working for a peace that might secure what was left of English dominion in France. A truce was made with Burgundy. A lengthy but fruitless conference took place at Calais between English and French ambassadors, with the cardinal and his niece the Duchess of Burgundy acting as mediators; and in 1440 the Duke of Orleans was released,

after twenty-five years' captivity in England, to attempt what the conference had failed to effect. Gloucester gave expression to his own personal enmity and to the unintelligent obstinacy of the war-party in a long letter to the king, in which he attacked the whole of the cardinal's ecclesiastical and political policy, past and present, a letter which has been described as "sufficient by itself to establish the writer's incapacity for government." The council replied with a defence of the release of the duke as the king's own action, prompted by the desire for a peace which was now a necessity in view of the exhaustion of both countries and of the disastrous schism still distracting Western Christendom. The cardinal's public and private life was left to defend itself. But his career was drawing at last to its end. Elements of opposition and rivalry (Ch. Q. R.). The final negotiations which led to the king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou in 1445 were the work of Beaufort's supporter Cardinal Kemp, Archbishop of York, and his kinsman the Earl of Suffolk, though the aged cardinal's influence was betokened by the jewel of his which was set in the queen's betrothal ring; and when the ambassadors of France came over to England to confer with Kemp and Suffolk they "went to visit the Cardinal of England, and made their reverence to him and he spoke good words of peace to them." The two rivals were soon to pass from the scene almost together. Gloucester's arrest in February, 1447, was followed by his sudden and mysterious death, in which his old antagonist can scarcely have had a hand; and six weeks later, on April 11, "the Cardinal of England passed away, not, as the great poet has described him, in the pangs of a melodramatic despair, but with the same business-like dignity in which for so long he had lived and ruled." He had the burial service and the requiem mass said before his sick-bed in the episcopal palace of Wolvesey at Winchester, his will was read in the evening before his household and confirmed by his own voice next morning, and he said good-bye to all before he breathed his last. His benefactions in life had been great. The completion of the cathedral at Winchester, the enlargement and endow-

ment of the hospital of St. Cross for the maintenance of master chaplains, and poor men and women, the union of the impoverished foundation of Sandon with the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark, all attest his care, and the residue of his fortune after the payment of large legacies was bequeathed to charitable purposes. Not a few cathedral chapters owed rich gifts of church plate and ornaments and vestments to his last will and testament.

The character of Beaufort cannot be better sketched than in the words which Bishop Stubbs appends to the story of the king's refusal to accept a gift from the cardinal's executors: "My uncle was very dear to me, and did much kindness to me while he lived; the Lord reward him. But do ye with his goods as ye are bounden; I will not take them." The historian proceeds: "Henry spoke the truth; Beaufort had been the mainstay of his house; for fifty years he had held the strings of English policy, and had done his best to maintain the honour and welfare of the nation. That he was ambitious, secular, little troubled with scruples, apt to make religious persecution a substitute for religious life and conversation; that he was imperious, impatient of control, ostentatious and greedy of honour,—these are faults which weigh very lightly against a great politician, if they be all that can be said against him. It must be remembered in favour of Beaufort that he guided the helm of state during the period in which the English nation tried first the great experiment of self-government with any approach to success; that he was merciful in his political enmities, enlightened in his foreign policy; that he was devotedly faithful and ready to sacrifice his wealth and labour for the king; that from the moment of his death everything began to go wrong, and went worse and worse until all was lost. If this result seems to involve a condemnation of policy, it only serves to enhance the greatness of his powers and fidelity. But his policy, so far as it was a policy of peace and reconciliation, is not condemned by the result. It was not the peace but the reopening of the strife that led directly to ruin. It is probable that he foresaw some part of the mischief that

followed; certainly the words on his tomb, 'Tribularer si nescirem misericordias Tuas,' may be read as expressing a feeling that, humanly speaking, there was little hope for his country under Henry VI."

It remains to consider the attitude which churchmen and statesmen at home took up with regard to the position of Beaufort as cardinal and legate. His acceptance of the double dignity on its first offer in 1418 was barred by Chicheley's protest and the king's prohibition. On the renewal of the offer of the cardinalate in 1426, the childhood of the king and the friendship of the regent made acceptance possible. But opposition was not slow in appearing. His commission as legate in 1427 was limited to the Bohemian crusade, and, strictly speaking, covered only the territories of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary. But at the same time the rumour that the Pope intended to supersede the archbishop as "legatus natus" by the appointment of the cardinal was speedily confirmed by a bull of suspension, which was seized by the Crown and answered by Chicheley's own appeal to a General Council, and by protests and testimonials on behalf of Chicheley from the bishops, the University of Oxford, and even the House of Lords. The Pope poured out in succession appeals to Crown and Parliament, and curt and insolent letters to the aged primate, who at last pleaded with the Commons to repeal the obnoxious statute of Provisors. His plea was fruitless, except that the Commons petitioned the Crown to send an embassy to the Court of Rome in exculpation of "our aller good father the archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all this land" from all charge of disregard for the "liberties of the Court of Rome in this land." The envoys were sent in July, 1428, but the Pope could well afford to balance against the obstinacy of the English Parliament the humiliation of a primate cowed into submission. It was at this juncture that the cardinal returned to England to raise funds for the Bohemian crusade. It is beyond our scope or power to disentangle the threads of partisan jealousy and intrigue that appear in the letters of Chicheley. We can only note the points in Beaufort's position to which objection was taken, and the grounds on which the

objections were based. (1) His legatine commission was the first point of protest. Chicheley evidently resented his presence as an assumption at the expense of the normal jurisdiction of the primacy (and the attitude of the episcopate was illustrated by the fact that in all the gorgeous procession of citizens and clergy that welcomed "the Bishop of Winchester and cardinal of Rome" in the streets of London there was but one bishop, and that a kinsman of Beaufort's). But the first protest was mainly on national grounds. The king's proctor, instructed by Gloucester and the Council, asserted that no legate could enter the realm except by royal invitation, and the cardinal could only meet the veto placed upon his legatine acts in the name of the Crown by promising publicly not to exercise his commission without consent of the Crown or in derogation of the rights of the king and realm. It was an appropriate reception for a legate whose commission was foreign in its sphere as in its origin, and whose visit had been preceded by a papal bull authorizing him to collect English money for the needs of the Papacy in Bohemia.

(2) The opposition to Beaufort next took the form of a protest against the retention of an English see by a cardinal. Gloucester raised the question whether the cardinal ought to officiate at Windsor on the feast of St. George in right of the bishopric of Winchester. The members of the Great Council agreed that as the question was doubtful he should be directed to refrain from exercising his claim; but when the cardinal next day pressed for justice or reasons to the contrary, the Lords, while stating that it was an unusual thing to be a cardinal and to retain the bishopric, contented themselves with entreating him to refrain from attending, on the ground that they were unwilling to prejudice the king during his minority or the cardinal or his church. Beaufort was too strong to be driven from his position on a side issue. But the question of the retention of the bishopric was raised again two years later on its own merits. Meanwhile his place on the council was retained for him by a resolution of the Lords which illustrates at once his influence in Parliament and the suspicion which was felt with

regard to the possible complications involved in the presence of a Roman prince at the English Court. It was contrary to precedent, they stated, that Englishmen who became cardinals should be admitted to the king's Council as councillors of the king and realm. But in consideration of Beaufort's relation to the king, in recognition of his past services to the Crown, especially his recent expedition in France, and in expectation of future services, the cardinal was to be not merely admitted but urged to resume his seat at the Council, on two conditions—(1) that he was to abstain from attendance when any matter had to be discussed that concerned the king and realm on the one side and the Apostolic See on the other, (2) that the protest made by the Council on his first arrival in England as cardinal was to remain unimpaired. Beaufort accepted the position with thanks, and proved his loyalty and his gratitude by promptly winning from the Commons a solid subsidy for the needs of the Crown.

In November, 1431, the absence of Beaufort and some of his supporters with the king in France gave his opponents an opportunity which they used to the full. The Crown lawyers were authorized by Gloucester to make out a case against the cardinal before a Great Council of fourteen spiritual and eight temporal peers. Precedents were quoted proving that the acceptance of the cardinalate had always involved the resignation of an English see, and a demand was formulated for the resignation of the bishopric of Winchester and the refunding of its revenues. Gloucester extracted from the Bishop of Worcester an admission that he had heard from the Bishop of Lichfield that the cardinal had purchased for himself, his city and diocese, an exemption from the jurisdiction of Canterbury. No further evidence of this offence, an undoubted breach of the Statute of Praemunire, was forthcoming at the time, even from the Bishop of Lichfield, who had acted as the cardinal's proctor at Rome in the matter, according to the Bishop of Worcester's tale, and was present at this very council. The Lords of the Council all declared their desire to maintain the interests of the Crown and realm, but in view of the cardinal's services and his relation to the king they

advised the postponement of the whole question until his return, suggesting that in the meantime the records should be searched and the judges asked for their opinions. Gloucester was not satisfied. Three weeks later he snatched a partial success in the Privy Council, which ordered the preparation of writs of Praemunire and attachment upon the statute against the cardinal, though even here he had to consent to the deferment of their execution until the king's return. Henry came back early in February, 1432, and within a month Gloucester had contrived to replace the chief ministers by his own partisans. Beaufort promptly returned and met the charge by a bold appeal to the Lords in Parliament, where his strength lay. On his way to Rome, he said, whither he was travelling by the king's permission in obedience to repeated instructions from the Pope, he had been overtaken by the news of an accusation of treason at home, and had returned to defend his honour and to demand a statement of the charge before the king. The charge was disowned, and the king's belief in his loyalty affirmed, and at his request the proceedings were recorded under the great seal, not that he wished, he said, to use the record against any future charge of treason that might be made, for he was ready always to answer for himself. His confiscated jewels were restored, and he placed fresh loans at the disposal of the Crown. The Commons rallied to his side with a petition, which the king granted, for a statute securing him against all risk of procedure under the Act of Praemunire. The precise meaning of this petition is not clear. In 1440 Gloucester returned to the charge that the cardinal had forfeited his bishopric: "He sued to the Pope for a bull declaratory that his see was not void in spite of his promotion to cardinal, whereas in fact it was void some time before the bull was granted, and so he was exempt from his ordinary by taking on him the state of cardinal; and the bishopric of the church of Winchester then standing void, he took it again of the Pope, the not learned not knowing wherein he was fallen in the case of provision, whereby all his good was clearly and lawfully forfeited to you, my right doubted lord, with more, as the

statute declareth, for your advantage." The Commons in 1432 may have intended their petition to be a pardon for any such proceeding as this on the part of the cardinal, or they may have meant it for a refusal to consider the question of the cardinal's status. It certainly had the latter effect. Gloucester's futile outburst in 1440 was the only subsequent protest against the position of "the cardinal of England."

It is difficult to estimate the weight to be assigned to the various motives that lay behind this opposition to the cardinal's tenure of the bishopric. Gloucester stood, in part at least, for mere personal jealousy and political rivalry; Chicheley for the constitutional government of a national Church; others of the bishops on Gloucester's side perhaps were not without designs on the possible vacancy in the rich see of Winchester. But all parties involved seem to have shared that inconsistency which marked the attitude of English statesmen of that age towards the Papacy, and which is vividly illustrated by the language of Gloucester's great protest of 1440. After admitting that Henry V had no objection to the cardinalate being held by English clerks without a bishopric in England, he insists that the king's idea was never intended to permit the elevation of a suffragan above his metropolitan; "but the cause was," he proceeds, "that in general counsailles and in alle maters that might concerne the wele of hym and of his royaume, he shulde have promoters of his nacione, as alle other Christen kynges had, in the courte of Rome, and not to abyde in this lande as eny part of youre counsaille, as be alle other lords spirituall and temporell at the parlements and greet counsailles, whan youre liste is to calle hem. And therfore, thogh it like you to do hym that worship to sette hym in youre prive counsaille where that you liste, yeet in your parlements, where every lord spirituell and temporal have their place, hym aught to occupie his place but as bisshop." Englishmen were willing to recognize the papal power at a distance, and accept or invite its action from Rome in certain matters and within certain limits; but they were reluctant to give its direct representatives a footing at home in the Church and realm of England.

Beaufort's own conception of his place and purpose is no less difficult to determine. There are practically no letters or speeches to reveal his view of the relations between his two masters, the Crown and the Papacy. Private ambition may well account for some part of his action in accepting, perhaps seeking, the cardinalate. It was the path to an international reputation, if not to the papal throne. Patriotism may account for more. In an age typified by the Council of Constance, with its inextricable blending of political and ecclesiastical interests, a footing at the court of Rome might serve a statesman-bishop as a lever to be worked in the cause of Crown and country. To the dangers with which such a state of things was fraught for the destinies of Church and nation Beaufort seems to have been rather blind than indifferent. If he did not share Chicheley's idea of English ecclesiastical polity, it is yet doubtful whether he shared Martin V's idea of a Papacy governing to the exclusion of the English episcopate and in disregard of the English monarchy. The English statesman was stronger in him than the Roman prince.

Yet his acceptance of the cardinalate was the mistake of his life. The retention of his see was an evil precedent soon followed. The concession granted in his case as a personal privilege became a common custom. Primate after primate accepted the position of cardinal and special legate, and as the real inherent authority of the archbishop was obscured by the dignity of a derived office, the national Church lost at once the visible signs of her independence and the normal self-government of her provincial synods. But even if the cardinal of England was unconscious of the loss thus involved for the Church, he must have felt with increasing disappointment the suspicion with which his action was watched by his countrymen. In 1430 a report that the Pope had endeavoured at the instance of the king's enemies to detach Beaufort from the king and his council in France led to an order forbidding the king's subjects to accompany the cardinal if he left the king without permission. In 1432 and again in 1433 the Privy Council authorized the cardinal to go to

the General Council at Basle and take with him large sums of money, evidently for the purpose of securing the support of the members of the Council for the English cause in France; but it is significant that when in 1434 he requested the licence of the Privy Council to go abroad when and where he liked, and with such money as he wished, on a pilgrimage which it was not safe to make known publicly, he concluded with the plea, "considerynge that my ful purpos is with the grace of God for to dye in this lande." His request was granted, but it is not clear whether his vow was a mere cover for some political design known to the Council, or whether his plea was intended to remove a suspicion that he contemplated carrying his wealth abroad to spend the rest of his days in the hope, perhaps, of rising to the papal throne itself. Three years later his request for permission to go to "the court," i. e. to Rome, to perform "his duty," on the ground that he had obtained a "patent of rest" or an exemption from further service, and that the king was now old enough to dispense with his attendance, was met by the refusal of the Council, plausibly grounded on "the unsurety of the way and the great jeopardy of his person" and the need of his services at home or abroad in the negotiations for peace with France. And the minutes of the Council for 1438 contain the blunt resolution "that the king grant no licence to my Lord Cardinal to go to the General Council." The English government was certainly resentful of the interference of the Council of Basle in the congress at Arras in 1435, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the cardinal himself was suspected of pursuing his own designs at the expense of his country's interests. The cardinal may be acquitted of this suspicion in the light of history, but the suspicion itself is intelligible enough as the contemporary view of his dual position as an English statesman and a member of the papal council. It was no slight hindrance to the working out of his policy for England.

V

CUTHBERT TUNSTALL

BY

G. H. ROSS-LEWIN, M.A.

VICAR OF BENFIELDSIDE, AND HONORARY CANON OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL

CUTHBERT TUNSTALL

(1474–1559)

Only one of his successors has borne the name of the great Bishop of Lindisfarne[1], to whose commandment concerning his bones (Heb. xi. 22) we probably owe the survival of the Diocese of Durham, during the Danish[2] oppression of the ninth century. And there are some points of similarity between the experiences of the two Cuthberts. The first witnessed a great change in the ecclesiastical organization of the north of England: the second, Cuthbert Tunstall, also witnessed a great ecclesiastical revolution. The ecclesiastical changes instituted by the Tudor sovereigns began during his tenure of the bishopric of Durham, and they occupied his thoughts up to the time of his death at the age of eighty-five, exactly one year after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. During the whole of this period, he occupied a place in the very forefront of his contemporaries, and won commendation on all sides[3]. In an age of bitter controversy he gained the

[1] The old chroniclers are careful to assert the identity of the See of Lindisfarne with that of Durham, St. Aidan being the first bishop.

[2] A learned Danish writer has recently told us that it was the Norwegians and not the Danes who invaded Northumbria, and hence the Church of Norway was influenced by the Scoto-Irish Mission of St. Aidan, just as the Danish Church was by the Roman Mission of St. Augustine. E. Jörgensen, Copenhagen, 1908.

[3] Erasmus's opinion of him is well known. Fourteen years before his appointment to Durham, when he was Rector of Stanhope (holding also several other high offices), Tunstall was sent by King Henry VIII as joint ambassador, with his friend, Sir Thomas More. Erasmus then wrote from Brussels: "We have here Cuthbert Tunstall, Master of the Rolls in England, Ambassador from his prince to our Emperor Charles V. A man, who not only outdoes all his contemporaries in the knowledge of the learned languages,

respect of men of widely divergent views—being commended by strong Roman controversialists on the one hand, while his funeral sermon was preached by the strong Protestant Alexander Nowell; and his epitaph, which tells of the sorrow of England for the golden old man, was composed by an Anglican champion against Rome and Geneva, Walter Haddon.

Cuthbert Tunstall was born at Hackforth, in Richmondshire, in the year 1474. He seems to have suffered some privations in his childhood, having for a time been lost sight of by kinsfolk, "but in 1491, at the age of seventeen, he became a student in the University of Oxford, particularly, as some will have it, in Balliol College; but we have no register of that time to show the fact, and whether he took a degree or degrees. He was forced to leave Oxford because of an outbreak of plague, and went to Cambridge, where he entered at King's Hall, now merged in Trinity College; but making no long stay there, he travelled to the University of Padua in Italy, then most flourishing in literature, where he became noted to all ingenious men for his forward and pregnant parts[1]."

In 1505, when at Rome, Tunstall was struck by the contrast between the arrogance of the Pope in allowing his shoe to be kissed by a nobleman of great age, and the humility of St. Peter. He thought of Cornelius "submitting himself to St. Peter and much honouring him," but he did not hear Pope Julius say, "Rise up, I am a man as thou art." "So the Bishops of Rome, admitting such adoration due unto God, do clime above the heavenly clouds, that is to say above the Apostles sent into the world by Christ[2]."

but is also of an exquisite judgment and clear understanding, and likewise of an unheard of modesty; and moreover is a cheerful and pleasant companion, without losing his proper gravity." Eleven years afterwards Erasmus speaks of Tunstall, now Bishop of London, if possible, in terms of greater praise.

[1] Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, p. 127, edition 1721. Richard Pace, afterwards the successor of Colet as Dean of St. Paul's, and an eminent diplomatist as well as one of the most learned men of his time, was instructed in his studies while at Padua by Cuthbert Tunstall and William Latimer, whom he called his "Preceptores." Latimer was afterwards tutor of Cardinal Pole.

[2] Sermon on Palm Sunday, 1539, by Bishop Tunstall, "I myself being then present thirty-four years ago."

During this period he was laying the foundation of the great learning for which he was afterwards famous. Bishop Godwin writes of him :—

" There was scarce any kind of good learning in which he was not excellent. A very good Grecian, well seen in the Hebrew tongue, a very eloquent Rhetorician, a passing skilful Mathematician (famous especially for Arithmetic, whereof he writ a work much esteemed), a great lawyer (in that faculty he proceeded Doctor), and a profound Divine, as divers of his works yet extant do very well testify. But his greatest commendation of all is that which I find given him by Bale out of Sir Thomas More, that as there was no man more adorned with knowledge and good literature, no man more severe and of greater integrity for his life and manners, so there was no man a more sweet and pleasant companion, with whom a man would rather choose to converse. In regard to these manifold good parts the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Warham, not only made him his Vicar-General, but also commended him so effectually unto the king, as he thought good to employ him in many Embassages of great weight, and divers temporal offices of less trust. He was first Master of the Rolls, then (as I find recorded) Keeper of the Privy Seal[1]."

Tunstall was late in receiving Holy Orders, being thirty-five when made a sub-deacon in 1509. During the thirteen years before his elevation to the episcopate he held several valuable ecclesiastical appointments. He had indeed before his ordination been collated to the Rectory of Stanhope in the diocese of Durham (in 1508), a benefice remarkable as for other reasons—for the number of bishops connected with it as rectors. He was also Rector of Harrow-on-the-Hill, Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, Archdeacon of Chester, and, just before his appointment to London, Dean of Salisbury. These appointments were to a large extent payment for secular work, but we have evidence that he resolved, when consecrated as bishop, to devote himself exclusively to religious matters. In 1522 Tunstall dedicated his book *De Arte Supputandi* to his friend Sir Thomas More. He had felt, he says, the need

[1] *A Catalogue of the Bishops of England*, by Francis Godwin, Sub-Dean of Exeter, 1601, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff and Hereford.

of a satisfactory book about Arithmetic, and had studied all the books already written at home or abroad, with an increasing sense of their imperfection. He had taken what seemed most useful in these books, and had composed a treatise of his own. But now King Henry had appointed him to the bishopric of London [1], and he hesitated to publish his Arithmetic, as he desired to devote the remainder of his life to sacred studies. Still, as the book had cost him many wakeful nights, and might be of use, it seemed a pity to commit the manuscript to the flames [2]. The King, however, was resolved to make full use of Tunstall's great ability, and would not allow him to devote himself entirely to religious work. In 1523 he made him Keeper of the Privy Seal; and although Tunstall did not discharge the office of ambassador to foreign Courts as often as his great contemporary statesman and ecclesiastic Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean both of Canterbury and York, he was often called upon to take that office. Indeed, to the end of his life he had a heavy burden laid upon him of political service, whether abroad or in the troublesome North and on the Scottish border.

It was during his London episcopate that Tunstall first came into contact with a student who soon became well known. Attracted by his scholarly and tolerant disposition, William Tyndale, when obliged to leave Gloucestershire in July or August, 1523, on account of his reforming views (which were at that time in accordance with those of Colet and Erasmus), was most anxious to enter Bishop Tunstall's household as one of his chaplains. He had a letter of introduction to Sir Henry Guildford, Master of the Horse, who personally solicited the patronage of the Bishop, and Tyndale, in support of his application, brought an oration of Isocrates translated by him from the Greek. But there was no vacancy in Tunstall's establishment. Tyndale received support and hospitality from a wealthy citizen of London, Humphrey

[1] It is worthy of note that, though officially he obtained the See of London by Papal Provision, writing to More he attributes his appointment solely to the King.

[2] *De Arte Supputandi Libri Quatuor*, London, R. Pynson, 1522. My copy is that printed at Paris, Ex Officina Roberti Stephani, 1538, pp. 259.

Monmouth [1], who admired his sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West, and paid him for half a year ten pounds to pray "for his father and mother their souls, and all Christian souls." Had Tyndale, in many respects an estimable man, come under the influence of Bishop Tunstall, he might not have adopted political opinions which seemed to many subversive of good order in Church and State, and yet have done as much to "enable the boy that driveth the plough to know the Scriptures."

Tunstall, however, did assist him, although unwillingly, at a later period. In 1529, after the famous treaty of Cambray, he bought up at Antwerp, through the intervention of an English merchant, named Augustine Packington, all the unsold copies of Tyndale's New Testament, in which he had noted two thousand errors, intending to burn them at Cheapside. Packington was a friend of Tyndale's, and he obtained from him all the copies he possessed. He was indeed delighted to part with them, "as he was then designing a new and more correct edition; but being poor, and the former impression not sold off, he could not go about it." Next year, when the new edition was finished, many more were brought over; "and Chancellor More, inquiring of one Constantine who it was that encouraged and supported them at Antwerp, was told, that the greatest encouragement they had was from the Bishop of London (Dr. Tunstall), who had bought up half the old impression. This made all that heard it laugh heartily." The transaction may remind us of the action of the Irish rebels of 1798, who burned a number of notes issued by the Beresfords, thinking by so doing to ruin their Bank, but it does not bring discredit to Cuthbert Tunstall. It certainly was profitable to William Tyndale.

Tunstall was translated to Durham by Papal Bull in 1530, in succession to Cardinal Wolsey the non-resident bishop; and it was during the early years of his episcopate at Durham that the abolition of the Papal Jurisdiction was accomplished.

[1] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. I, part i, p. 487 f. (Oxford, 1822).

Like almost all his brother bishops, men for the most part of considerable ability [1], Tunstall seems to have had no scruple about the abolition of Papal Jurisdiction. He was greatly troubled, however, by the new title of Supreme Head, and made a solemn protestation against it in writing, which at his desire was entered in the registry of the Convocation [2]. This opposition on his part led to an important letter from the King to the Bishop of Durham, in which he explained that he had no intention of usurping spiritual jurisdiction [3]. This evidently satisfied Tunstall, who subsequently did all in his power to set forth the title, and to satisfy doubters [4].

The practically unanimous rejection of the Papal Jurisdiction by the Houses of Parliament, which in the Upper House had sometimes a clerical majority, and by the two Convocations of Canterbury and York, is most remarkable. It was not the act of "Protestants" in the popular sense of the term. But surely it was not the work of "Papists," a term which was in use as the title of supporters of Papal claims to coercive jurisdiction over National Churches, and which plainly cannot be given to men who declared without one dissentient vote in the Convocations of Canterbury and York that "The Bishop of Rome had no greater jurisdiction given him by God than any other foreign Bishop," and who a few years later, while saying Mass in Latin, prayed in Church to be delivered "from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities." We owe a debt of gratitude to the members of the Convocations of 1531 and 1534, as their action made the reformation

[1] We may remember Thomas Fuller's commendation of the episcopal appointments of Henry VIII. "Scarce one Dunce wearing a mitre all his days," *History*, vol. I, p. 132, edition 1837.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 745.

[3] Dixon, *History of the Church*, vol. I, p. 66. The title "Supreme Head" was borne by King Henry VIII, Edward VI, and at first by Queen Mary, but was rejected by Queen Elizabeth (some say partly at the instigation of Thomas Lever, Master of Sherburn Hospital, near Durham), and has never since been legally given to any English sovereign.

[4] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. I, part ii, p. 206 f.: Tunstall to Cromwell, "I not only myself, before the receit of [the letters with the King's direction on the subject] had done my duty in setting forth his title of Supreme Head, but also caused others to do the same."

of our Church, without the loss of corporate continuity, possible. The restoration of the cup to other communicants besides the officiating priest at Holy Communion, the acceptance of a vernacular Liturgy, the permission to the clergy to marry after ordination, directly result from the action of men like Cuthbert Tunstall; and but for the unfortunate reaction under Mary, their great service to the Church of England would be more generally recognized.

The abolition of Papal Jurisdiction was again and again defended by English theologians, but by none more forcibly than by Bishop Tunstall, in a famous letter to Reginald Pole, dated July 13, 1536. In reply to the future Cardinal's appeal to ancient usage, Tunstall claimed that for the first thousand years the belief and practice of the Church was against him: that in the primitive times, when the blood of the martyrs was fresh, and the Scriptures best understood; when faith was strongest, and virtue had its greatest ascendant; when all things were in this state of advantage, the customs of the Church must be better than those of later ages, when ambition and covetousness had made an impression on Christendom. And he goes on to say that whoever shall infer the Papal authority, especially in temporal matters, from St. Peter's Primacy, may, by parity of reasoning, make light and darkness the same thing. The Primacy of Rome was merely based upon the fact that it was the Imperial city of the old Roman Empire, and not upon the fact of the presence there of St. Peter or St. Paul[1].

Nor was this any isolated act on the part of the Bishop of Durham; for throughout the reign of Henry VIII he took the same line. He preached against the Pope's authority at Paul's Cross on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1536, some of the London Carthusians being present by order[2]. A sermon preached on Palm Sunday, 1539, is still in existence: it is

[1] For the text of this valuable letter, see Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation*, Records. Originally printed, London, Reg. Woulfe, 1560, also in *A New Yeares Gift*, by B. G., Citizen of London, 1579; and in Knight's *Life of Erasmus*, Appendix, p. xxiv.

[2] Wriothesley's *Chronicle* (Camden Society), p. 34.

of the greatest possible value [1]. He exercised a conservative influence in the composition of the *Institution of a Christian Man* [2].

Do we sufficiently recognize the great work of reformation accomplished during the reign of King Henry VIII? The Bible was translated into English, several superstitious practices were abolished. A more evangelical explanation was given concerning the public services of the Church, which were well attended. An English Litany was added, with the exception of some suffrages omitted, the same as that now used by us. The true meaning of the "Hail Mary" as a memorial of the Incarnation of our Lord, and not a prayer, was set forth. Men were told that churches were dedicated to God, and not to the saint whose name they bear, a fact too often forgotten even now. All these salutary reforms, surely a great work in some fifteen years, were accomplished during the reign of King Henry VIII. If some, like Bishop Tunstall, hesitated about further changes, may we not remember that a wise bishop said about too sudden a convert, "I do not well like a man that tells me, he hath changed a whole religion at once."

Bishop Tunstall and Durham Cathedral.

For over four centuries and a half Durham Cathedral had been held by Benedictine monks, but on December 31, 1540, the Prior and convent surrendered the monastery of Durham to the King. There is no confession of misconduct in this surrender, which professes to be with the unanimous consent of the Prior and convent "to Henry the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, Lord of Ireland, and upon earth Supreme Head of the Church of England."

Upon the twelfth of the following May (1541) the Church of Durham was refounded as a secular Cathedral with a Dean

[1] A "Sermon of Cuthbert, Bysshop of Duresme, made upon Palme Sondaye last past, before . . . Henry the VIII." London: Tho. Berthelet, 1539, reprinted 1633, and by T. Rodd, 1823.

[2] 1537.

and twelve Prebendaries, Dr. Hugh Whitehead, the last Lord Prior, who had succeeded Thomas Castell, D.D., in 1524, being the first Dean. We are told that "he was uniformly religious, and his whole spirit breathed divine love." He died in Edward's time, and Tunstall speaks of him in 1556 as "of good memory."

From a list of the monks during the rule of Thomas Castell in 1501, we learn that the number was forty-two, and it is not likely to have been larger at the time of the surrender in 1540. Doubtless, room was found for most of the monks on the new Cathedral foundation. Nine out of the twelve Prebendaries possessed degrees in Divinity, and one of them, Thomas Sparke, B.D., subsequently became Tunstall's Suffragan under the title of Bishop of Berwick.

The Cathedral, however, had to wait until the reign of Queen Mary for its statutes. There had been nothing to succeed the monastic "Customs of Durham." From a little-known document, we learn that the Dean and Prebendaries divided amongst themselves a large number of vessels both sacred and domestic, as well as vestments, which Bishop Tunstall endeavoured to recover in 1556.

His influence is still felt, as the statutes by which Durham Cathedral is governed were drawn up by him, assisted by Archbishop Heath of York, Bonner of London, Thirlby of Ely, and William Armistead, Chaplain to the King and Queen, who are described in an Act concerning the Cathedral as King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, together with several minor titles. The Act alludes to Henry the Eighth as of "happy" and "good" memory, and the King and Queen commend his wisdom in removing the Order of St. Benedict from Durham and substituting secular clergy, who could go about the diocese preaching the Word of God, to the greater profit of Christian people. We seem to recognize here the hand of Tunstall, as well as in chapter xiv of the Cathedral statutes, where the Prebendaries are encouraged to preach throughout the diocese. "If any of them shall preach within twelve miles of the Cathedral, he is to be allowed the emolu-

ments of one day, as if present; and if above twelve miles, two days, or at the most three. If he is longer absent, without the excuse of preaching, or the causes before stipulated, he shall forfeit his profits."

Bishop Tunstall, in a mandate addressed in Queen Mary's reign to the Dean and Chapter, appeals to the highest motives. St. Paul, he says, had told them that they which wait upon the altar are partakers with the altar, but he attached to corporeal support the duty, not merely of waiting, but of ministering. The Cathedral of Durham possessed many country benefices, and derived a large income from their tithes. It was, therefore, only just and right that in return for temporal sustenance, they should provide a banquet of the spiritual food of the Word of God, lest they should seem to be more intent upon shearing than upon feeding the flock of Christ. "Wherefore, most dear brothers, we beseech you by the tender mercies of Christ, that in each Church belonging to the Dean and Chapter, of which you are Patrons, ye sow the seed of the Word of God, at a convenient season in each year, especially in Lent, either personally, or by others chosen by you, lest through lack of knowledge of the Law of God, the flock of Christ perish by spiritual famine, to the great peril of your own souls. We therefore enjoin and command you in virtue of your sacred obedience that ye provide for the spiritual sustenance of all the Churches, whereof ye are Patrons."

The calm judicial mind of Tunstall is also shown in his statements about the Holy Eucharist. His kinsman, Bernard Gilpin, tells us "The Bishop was of the mind that we ought to speak reverently of the Holy Supper as did the ancient Fathers, but that the opinion of Transubstantiation might well be let alone. This thing also the same Bishop Tunstall was wont to affirm both in words and writing, that Innocent III (1215) knew not what he did, when he put Transubstantiation among the Articles of Faith; and he said Innocent wanted learned men about him; and, indeed (said the Bishop), if I had been of his council, I make no doubt that I might have been able to have dissuaded him from that resolution[1]."

[1] Cf. the statement of Bishop Oglethorpe of Carlisle, "The foolish and

In his book on the Holy Eucharist written in Edward's time, but published in the reign of Queen Mary, Tunstall writes: "Never did any member of the Catholic Church, who had been admitted to baptism, doubt the real presence in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. . . . But, as touching the manner in which that which before consecration was common bread is changed, by the unspeakable sanctification of the Spirit, into His Body, all the most learned men of Christian antiquity hold it to be no subject of lawful inquiry [1]."

But to return to chronological order. The diminution of the privileges of the Palatinate of Durham was not, as an American scholar [2] has recently shown, a punishment for sympathy with the Pilgrimage of Grace, as it took place before the movement began in the October of 1536. The Bishop gave the unhappy Pilgrims no encouragement, and said they were worse than Turks. His support was greatly valued by the authorities; and after the rebellion he was appointed the first President of the great Council of the North, "which had jurisdiction in the counties of York, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, and in the city and towns of York, Kingston-on-Hull, and Newcastle-on-Tyne."

He took advantage of the statute about Suffragan Bishops and appointed a learned man, already mentioned, Thomas Sparke, B.D., Prior of Lindisfarne, as his assistant with the title Bishop of Berwick-on-Tweed. The royal mandate for his consecration, addressed to Edward Lee, Lord Archbishop of York, bears date June 12, 1537.

Sparke conformed under Queen Elizabeth, and died in the thirteenth year of her reign. He was a faithful guardian of Church property, and successfully resisted a lawless proceeding of William Whittingham, the Puritan Dean of Durham. He is spoken of in the will of a Durham citizen as "my Lord Suffragan" some years after Elizabeth's accession. In his

lately-received doctrine concerning the Sacraments, and namely the attribute of Transubstantiation, I do not like, and I do think it not consonant to the Scriptures and ancient writers."

[1] See the whole passage in the Appendix to this lecture, pp. 162-4.

[2] G. T. Lapsley, *The County Palatine of Durham* (Harvard Historical Studies, viii), p. 197. Longmans, 1900.

own will dated January 25, 1563, he bequeathed five pounds, to be distributed "in the time I lye in my passions," and with much other property a mitre "set with stones and perle" valued at £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, which represents a much larger sum in modern currency. Owing to the great age, and for a long period the compulsory absence of Tunstall, the pastoral care of the diocese must have been to a great extent in the hands of Bishop Sparke.

Tunstall and the Edwardine Changes.

At the time of the death of King Henry VIII, all the bishops and leading statesmen were at one in their rejection of Papal jurisdiction. The prayer offered in all the churches, "From the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord, deliver us," seemed to be scarcely needed, and men said that if the clergy would only cease preaching against him, the Pope would soon be forgotten in England[1].

Bishop Tunstall had been appointed one of the executors of King Henry's will, and he officiated at Edward VI's Coronation, February 20, 1546–7. The accession of the new King was followed by further ecclesiastical changes, but not at first of a violent character. It was only natural that the statute of "Six Articles," as it is called, passed by the influence of King Henry against the wish of the majority of his counsellors, should be abolished now that the throne was occupied by a child; but it did not therefore follow that the opposite policy had prevailed.

In his valuable book on *England under Protector Somerset*, Mr. A. F. Pollard has shown the necessity of discriminating between the ecclesiastical proceedings of the Duke of Somerset and those of his successor, John Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland. He credits Protector Somerset with a sincere desire to be fair to all parties in the Church of

[1] "If the preachers would let him alone, the people would soon forget him. Why should we speak so much of the Bishop of Rome? Is he not gone? His power taken away?" Bernard Gilpin, *Sermon before King Edward's Court at Greenwich.*

England. The more conservative churchmen, at any rate, had no great reason to complain. They were given a fair hearing, and had an equitable representation on the various committees. So far from there being any desire to make radical changes, which might endanger the reputation of the Church of England—anti-Papal, no doubt, but strictly Catholic—the first statute of King Edward's reign with regard to religious matters was directed against such as should "speak unreverently against the Sacrament of the Altar." A proclamation was issued with a like object on December 27, 1547; and another followed in the February of 1548, against unlicensed preachers and unauthorized innovations. So far from straining his authority to hasten on a religious revolution, Protector Somerset endeavoured "to steer a middle course, and follow the line of least resistance."

The First Prayer-book of King Edward was set forth under his Protectorate; and the Reformation, so far as he carried it out, "was almost entirely the product of English ideas." The important rubric, printed immediately before the Morning Service in our Prayer-book, which sets forth as a standard the second year of King Edward the Sixth, and by so doing implicitly condemns the proceedings of his later years, so far as ritual is concerned, is a witness to the more conservative character of Somerset's rule, than that of his successor Northumberland. Moreover, his reforms were carried out without excessive rigour. Somerset did not sanction the deprivation of a single bishop, while under Northumberland the bishops knew very well that opposition to his policy might involve deprivation from office. Even the brave Bishop Ridley was influenced by this consideration.

Bishop Tunstall unhesitatingly conformed to the ecclesiastical proceedings during Edward's reign, while in possession of his bishopric, although he voted in the minority against some of the changes. When the Act of Uniformity was passed he loyally enforced its provisions in the Diocese of Durham, and himself used the First Prayer-book of King Edward and the Ordinal. He was not called upon to take any part in the setting forth of the Second Prayer-book, for by this time

he had fallen under the heavy hand of Dudley, and was a prisoner. This cruel treatment of the Bishop of Durham by the Duke of Northumberland was in part a punishment for Tunstall's support of Protector Somerset, but it was also, many thought, with a view to the confiscation of the rich revenues of the See of Durham.

Against Bishop Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Day of Chichester, and Heath of Worcester, Dudley proceeded upon religious grounds of unequal force: they had all used the First Prayer-book of 1549, but they were charged with lack of sympathy for a more sweeping reformation; and on this ground they were deprived. Tunstall had been entirely conformable, and so a trumped-up charge of Concealment of Treason was brought against him, and he was for a time in danger of his life. A Bill for his Deprivation was hurried through the House of Lords on the four last days of March, 1552. It was not sent to the Commons, and they refused to consider another Bill for his Attainder, unless Tunstall and his accusers were brought face to face before them.

The conduct on this occasion of Archbishop Cranmer deserves the highest praise. With the sole support of one peer, Lord Stourton, he voted, and it is said spoke against this iniquitous Bill. "There were fourteen Bishops present, including Tunstall's neighbours of York and Carlisle," but none of them dared to support the Bishop of Durham except Archbishop Cranmer[1].

The Bishop was subsequently deprived (October 14, 1552) by a Commission of Laymen, and was kept in prison until the accession of Queen Mary. It was shameful treatment.

Having wreaked his vengeance upon the man, Dudley turned upon the great prince-bishopric. The dissolution of the great prince-bishopric was resolved upon, it being proposed to form two new dioceses out of it, one of which should have its see at Newcastle-on-Tyne, with which Gateshead was now incorporated. The scheme looked well on paper, but, like other proposals of the Protector, it was not considered to be

[1] Dixon, vol. iii. 441-2. F. A. Gasquet and E. Bishop, *Edward VI, and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 29.

sincere. The Palatinate of Durham once dissolved, he could hope to secure the plunder; and this was what he really wanted. Happily, however, the scheme fell through. The prince-bishopric survived for two hundred and eighty years more, whilst Newcastle-on-Tyne had to wait till 1882 for its first bishop.

Tunstall under Queen Mary.

While Tunstall was in prison, and near the close of the life of King Edward, Bernard Gilpin, the Bishop's kinsman and chaplain, was called upon to preach before the Court at Greenwich. He is known as the best parish priest in the North, and Bishop Lightfoot styled him "the Noblest Representative of the English Reformation[1]." Without family responsibilities, of simple scholarly habits, he had no desire for wealth or place. He struggled as hard to escape promotion as most men do to gain it. Even the gentle Tunstall almost lost his temper at his repeated refusals to accept preferment, and used to predict that he would die in poverty. When he did accept a benefice his income became the patrimony of the poor.

The sermon at Greenwich on the first Sunday after Epiphany, throws much light upon the miserable condition of England near the end of Edward's reign. While he rejoiced at the abolition of Papal jurisdiction, and the simplification of the Church services, Gilpin denounced the tyranny "which caused thousands to beg from door to door who once kept honest houses." "Look," he said, "upon the two Wells of the realm, Oxford and Cambridge. They are almost dried up. The decay of students is so great, there are scarce left of every thousand a hundred. If they decay so fast, in seven years more there will be almost none at all." "There is entering into England more blind ignorance than ever was under the Roman Bishop[2]."

Hence the joy of the people at the accession of Queen

[1] *Leaders in the Northern Church*, p. 130. Macmillan, 1902.

[2] *Father Gilpin*, by G. H. Ross-Lewin, with recommendation by the late Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Stubbs), enlarged edition: Edinburgh, St. Giles' Printing Co., 1901.

Mary. Bernard Gilpin, who had been on the continent, tells us that he returned all the more readily to England, looking for a better reformation under her government than that attempted under Edward. A better reformation had been promised by churchmen now in power who had rejected the jurisdiction of Rome, accepted Communion in both kinds in the Holy Eucharist, and a vernacular Liturgy. But the too rapid changes under Edward had checked their zeal for reform. "If," said they, "we once confess any error at all, they will straightway cry out that many other things also are worthy to be reformed besides these which we shall yield unto them, and so they will be still gaining upon us, that we shall never have done reforming."

One of the first acts of Queen Mary was to release the imprisoned bishops. Bonner, Gardiner, Day, and Heath were restored to their bishoprics, but the restoration of Tunstall was not so easily accomplished. He was liberated from prison on August 6, 1553; and a Commission from Queen Mary was issued on September 1 to hear and determine an appeal entered by Bishop Tunstall against the act of Edward's lay commissioners by which he had been deprived. Before, however, any action had been taken to repeal the Act for the Dissolution of the See of Durham, Tunstall was allowed to take his proper place at the Coronation of the Queen on October 1, 1553. She was supported on the right hand by him, just as our gracious sovereign King Edward was by the present Bishop of Durham, in accordance with ancient custom.

The restoration of the bishopric was accomplished by the Parliament which met at Westminster, April 2, 1554. The Lord Chancellor, Bishop Gardiner of Winchester, himself proposed the revival of the See of Durham. His Bill passed the House of Lords with but one dissentient, Lord Rich; but it met with great opposition in the House of Commons. It was also strongly opposed by the Corporation of Newcastle, as it directed that Gateshead should be restored to Durham. Tunstall, who was now eighty years old, came himself into the House of Commons and laid before the members the

hardships he had met with from Dudley. After many warm debates the measure passed on a division by 201 against 120; and the Bishop, to conciliate the Corporation of Newcastle, promised the Corporation the lease of the Salt Meadows, and the tolls of Gateshead for 450 years.

The Act of restoration speaks in laudatory terms of the diocese of Durham, "one of the most ancientest and worthiest bishoprics" and "always furnished with a man of great learning and virtue" as bishop. It attributes the dissolution of the bishopric, during the tender years and minority of Edward VI "of famous memory," to malice and covetousness, and enacts "that Cuthbert Tunstall shall be judged and deemed Bishop of Durham, as though the said Act of Parliament had never been made or done." Thus the See of Durham had been fully restored; and the limited restoration of Papal jurisdiction did not take place until afterwards. Neither the foundation by Oswald and Aidan, nor the restoration under Mary, had any connexion with the Papal Court.

The restoration of the Papal authority was in origin a reaction against the later Edwardine changes; but in effect it was the undoing of the work of the Reformation settlement under Protector Somerset. Our attention is directed in our Prayer-book to the second year of King Edward. Then the work of (on the whole) conservative reformation, in accordance with the teaching of Holy Scripture, as expounded by the ancient Fathers of the Church, was practically accepted by the leading bishops and clergy, and there was a bright prospect for further work, in which Cranmer and Ridley might co-operate with Tunstall and Gardiner. The selfish greed of John Dudley changed all this, and the disgust caused by his proceedings made Queen Mary's Romanizing policy almost a success. There are two or three versions of the speech at his execution[1], but whether he was at heart a churchman of the

[1] Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, met with the punishment due to his many crimes, shortly after the accession of Queen Mary. He had been considered a brave soldier, but when sentence was pronounced upon him, his courage failed. "In abject degradation he declared that he had lived the life of a hypocrite, that his faith had really been that of the bishops he deprived, and the priests he persecuted, and piteously he begged for life,

school of Gardiner and Bonner, whom he persecuted, or an out and out Romanist, he was not sincere in his ecclesiastical policy under Edward. The extreme Reformers were merely tools in his hands. Not for the last time did the Puritan party (as it was afterwards called) allow itself to be deceived ; and the result was that England threw itself back under the old ecclesiastical tyranny.

The burnings of the alleged heretics did not extend to Durham, but not because there were no extreme reformers to burn. John Knox had spent much time preaching at Berwick-on-Tweed, and at Newcastle, and his sermons had great power[1]; nor was he by any means alone. The immunity from persecution was due to the Christian charity of Bishop Tunstall. When a preacher, one Mr. Russell, was brought before him at Auckland, he ordered him immediately to be dismissed, saying, "Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours; I pray you bring not this man's blood upon us."

But toleration must have its limits, and we learn from a document, which has probably not been made use of before, that Bishop Tunstall dreaded lest the Reserved Sacrament, even in Durham Cathedral, should be exposed to insult. He took pains to guard against this, not by stern warnings, but by prudent precautions. In a mandate, dated July 17, 1556, addressed to Thomas Watson[2], Dean of Durham, and to the Prebendaries, he directed that the choir of the cathedral, then always open to the general public, should be securely fenced in by screens of wood or iron, with gates inserted in them, only to be opened during divine service,

'yea, even the life of a dog.'" A. F. Pollard, *England under Protector Somerset*, p. 311.

[1] He had been looked upon by the Duke of Northumberland as a man to be made use of. The latter recommended Knox for the bishopric of Rochester, "not only as a whetstone to quicken and sharp Archbishop Cranmer whereof he hath need," but also, he writes, "he would be a great confounder of the Anabaptists lately sprung up in Kent." Knox was in the Diocese of Durham for five years, 1549–54. Cranmer as well as Tunstall was distressed by his teaching and offered to submit to the ordeal by fire in opposition to him. Andrew Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation*, pp. 32–9 (Longmans, 1905).

[2] Afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

as in St. Paul's, London. This was to be done to prevent theft of vestments and books, in the absence of the caretakers. Further protection, however, was needed for the Reserved Eucharist, as some men might dare to lay violent hands upon it, cast it upon the ground, and trample it under foot. He therefore ordered that a decent Tabernacle be made either of stone, wood, or iron, large enough to contain the pyx with its sacred contents, and that the Tabernacle be so secured and placed as to be safe from outrage. The Bishop promised to provide for the cost of making this Tabernacle according to his ability.

We hear of no outbreak of fanaticism under his wise rule, and "under God and good Cuthbert Tunstall," as Thomas Fuller writes, "the Bishopric of Durham had halcyon days of ease and quiet." In the middle of Queen Mary's reign the Bishop appointed Bernard Gilpin to the Archdeaconry of Durham, to which the rectory of Easington was attached, but his tender conscience about pluralities would not allow him to hold both the archdeaconry and rectory together, and as they could not be separated, he resigned both. Gilpin was subsequently, also in the reign of Queen Mary, collated by Tunstall to the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, which he held with honour to himself and to the benefit of the Church until his death, March 3, 1584, in the twenty-sixth year of Queen Elizabeth.

In defence of Bernard Gilpin's conformity under Mary, I may cite the following important statement made by the late Lord Selborne, twice Lord Chancellor of England:— "For myself, I am entirely of Bernard Gilpin's mind. To me, all such differences of ritual as those between the First and Second Prayer-books of King Edward's reign seem to be of no importance whatever with respect to either faith or practice. And, as I cannot hold that a man ought to separate himself from the communion of the Church to which he organically belongs on account of popular errors, either of teaching or of practice, which the Church has not made its own by any formal act to which its members are required by its public authority to assent, I think conformity in

Queen Mary's reign, before the decrees of the Council of Trent had become binding upon the Roman Communion, was not inconsistent with fidelity to the truths with which some of those decrees were at variance[1]."

Nor does it appear that Bishop Tunstall had modified his objection to the definition of Transubstantiation by Innocent III which has been quoted above[2]. And, as Bernard Gilpin tells us, "what Tunstall judged concerning Transubstantiation the same may a man resolve touching all Popery, after the publication of the Council of Trent; for that which was indifferent before, now they do not suffer so to be. Therefore, I suppose, that the times of our forefathers, though oppressed much with ignorance, were happier far than the ensuing ages can be under the Papists, because they have now altered in the Council of Trent many institutions of the ancient Church. For, whereas they have placed a part of the Rule of Faith in Traditions, that is a thing which was never done in the Church before. Many things which were permitted to be taught in the Church formerly touching Justification and the Sacraments are not now tolerated. And upon these occasions the Fathers of the Council of Trent have laid upon other Churches a necessity of making separation from the Church of Rome, wherein we think they have not done advisedly; for the Church is thereby distracted into differences and factions, and whatsoever was formerly indifferent in doubtful points the Fathers of Trent have made it all necessary, and took upon them a very hard task[3]."

While the diocese of Durham enjoyed halcyon days of ease and quiet under good Cuthbert Tunstall, several leading men connected with the bishopric were engaged in the fierce conflict known as "The Troubles at Frankfort." In the interest

[1] From a letter to the Rev. G. H. Ross-Lewin, Vicar of Benfieldside, dated September 1, 1892. The decisions of the Council of Trent and the Creed of Pope Pius IV were not published until some years after the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

[2] Above, p. 146.

[3] Compare Anthony Carleton's account of a conversation on the same subject at which Tunstall was present. Appendix, pp. 164-6.—Bp. Carleton's *Life of Bernard Gilpin.*

of peace the use of the surplice, the sign of the Cross at Baptism, and other things had been omitted at Frankfort by the English exiles, but in vain. Even the public reading of the Lessons from Holy Scripture was objected to "as an irksome and unprofitable form." The supporters of the English Prayer-book accused John Knox of having by his indiscreet writings caused the death of the English Martyrs. Knox, on the other side, maintained "that among many things which provoked God's anger against England, slackness to reform religion (when time and place was granted) was one[1]." And so Queen Mary's persecution on the one hand, and the intolerable arrogance of the extreme reformers on the other, did much to prepare sober-minded Englishmen for Queen Elizabeth's settlement of the ancient Church of England, with its double protest against Papal and Puritan innovations.

Tunstall under Queen Elizabeth.

Tunstall was in his diocese when the Bishops met Queen Elizabeth at Highgate, on her approach to London on November 23, 1558, six days after her accession; "a diminished band, for a third part of the Sees were vacant, or filled by dying incumbents[2]." Elizabeth wrote to Tunstall on December 19, dispensing with his services in Parliament and at her coronation. He was, therefore, not present during the memorable Parliament which restored the Royal Supremacy, and the English Prayer-book. This Parliament was dissolved on May 8, 1559. "Peace was declared with Scotland on the last day of the same month, in the Church of St. Mary of Upsetlington, and duplicates were delivered the same day in Norham Church[3]."

Bishop Tunstall was a Commissioner, and it probably was the last act of his long and trying political ministry

[1] *Original Letters*, 2nd portion, pp. 758, 761. David Whitehead and others to John Calvin, Accusation against John Knox. Parker Society, 1847.

[2] Dixon, *History of the English Church*, vol. v, p. 3.

[3] Hutchinson's *Durham*, vol. i, p. 543. Durham: G. Walker, 1823.

on the Scottish border. An ordination for Durham Diocese is recorded on May 29, two days before. It was the last of the long series of ordinations during Tunstall's episcopate, held partly by him and partly by the Suffragan, Thomas Sparke, Bishop of Berwick-on-Tweed.

Eight months after the Queen's Accession, we read in the invaluable diary of a London tradesman, Henry Machyn:—"The xx day of July (1559) the good old Bishop of Durham came riding to London with four score horse, and so to Southwark unto Master Dolman's house, a tallow chandler, and there he lies against the chain gate[1]." Shortly after his arrival in London, the more extreme reformers succeeded in an attack upon the so-called superstitious ornaments of the city churches. Rood crosses with figures of St. Mary and St. John were burnt in the presence of the Lord Mayor and the civic authorities. It caused much indignation, and was a source of much grief to the Bishop of Durham.

It seems probable that he was willing to accept the Prayer-book and Act of Uniformity, if he could secure his diocese against the ruthless wreckage perpetrated in London and elsewhere, without regard to law, by the Puritan faction. He wrote to Cecil on August 19, 1559:—"And where I do understand out of my diocese of a warning for a visitation to be had there, these shall be to advertise your Mastership, that albeit I could be as glad to serve the Queen's Highness and to set forward all her affairs to her contentment as any subject in her realm, yet if the same visitation shall proceed to such end in my diocese of Durham as I do plainly see to be set forth here in London, as pulling down of altars, defacing of images by taking away of crucifixes, I cannot in my conscience consent to it, being pastor there, because I cannot myself agree to be a Sacramentary, nor to have any new doctrine taught in my diocese."

His hesitation had no necessary connexion with the main dispute about Papal Jurisdiction or Protestantism. Martin Luther would have sympathized with Bishop Tunstall, and the Lutherans retained everywhere, not only altars and lights,

[1] Machyn's *Diary* (Camden Society), p. 204.

but also the crucifix. The Lutheran was the largest Protestant body. Indeed, historically, the title "Protestant" belongs only by right to the Lutheran Communion, which accepts the Augsburg Confession [1]. Thus Peter Martyr, who had when in England during the reign of Edward VI helped the more extreme reformers (and refused to wear a surplice as Canon of Christ Church, Oxford), writing from Zurich on March 20, 1560 (more than a year after Queen Elizabeth's accession), says to an English Puritan: "Moreover, if, as it is reported, to be the determination of your countrymen to embrace the Confession of Augsburg, and court an alliance with the Protestants, you may judge for yourself in what esteem my letters, and the letters of those like me will be held."

On September 9, 1559, Bishop Tunstall was named as one of the Bishops to consecrate the Archbishop Elect of Canterbury, Matthew Parker. The Letters Patent were addressed to Bishops Tunstall, Bourne of Bath and Wells, Kitchin of Llandaff, and Barlow and Scory, Bishops as yet without Sees. But these letters, on account of secular business, took no effect. It is interesting to note that in the first draft of this Patent, the names of the Bishops were left blank, save that of Cuthbert of Durham, which was inserted in Parker's handwriting [2]. He was anxious to have him as his senior consecrator. Later on in September the Oath of Supremacy was tendered to him, and he refused to take it.

The following entry from Machyn's Diary speaks for itself: "The 28th of September was Michaelmas Even. The old Bishop of Durham, Dr. Tunstall, was deposed of his bishopric, because he should not receive his rents for that quarter [3]." It may be that greedy eyes were fixed not merely upon the rents for that quarter, but, as in Edward's time, upon the whole revenues of the See of Durham. For his refusal to take

[1] Cf. the reply of the English Bishops to the Puritan Divines, before the Savoy Conference. The Liturgy "was never found fault with by those to whom the name of Protestants most properly belongs, those that profess the Augustan Confession." *History of Conferences*, by Edward Cardwell, D.D. Oxford University Press, 1841.

[2] Dixon, *History of the English Church*, vol. v, p. 200.

[3] Machyn, p. 214.

the Oath of Supremacy he was committed to Matthew Parker Archbishop Elect, in free custody at Lambeth [1].

The destruction of church ornaments, which caused him so much grief, was against the wishes of the Queen, as she acknowledged in a conversation with De Feria. And indeed, Elizabeth now (October 3, 1559) ordered the cross and candles to be replaced in her Chapel as before. This caused some disagreement with her Council. She said they had caused her to adopt measures which met with general disapprobation, and the order to burn all statues and pictures had caused great discontent, especially in Wales and the North of England." This statement is confirmed by a letter written more than four months after Tunstall's death, by Bishop Sandys, who was one of the revisers of Elizabeth's Prayer-book. He writes to Peter Martyr on April 1, 1560: "The Queen's Majesty considered it not contrary to the Word of God, nay, rather for the advantage of the Church, that the image of Christ crucified, together with those of Mary and John, should be placed as heretofore, in some conspicuous part of the Church, where they might more easily be seen by the people." Sandys himself and some of the newly-appointed Bishops were much opposed to this. Into the merits of the controversy we need not now enter. As to the crucifix, Queen Elizabeth and Bishop Tunstall would have had the support of Martin Luther, who attributed to its teaching the saving faith of many dying penitents, and his opinion was in later times endorsed by Thomas Arnold of Rugby, while on the other hand the opponents of this symbol could plead the example of the earlier ages of the Church, when either the plain cross was used, or our Lord was represented as "living," not dead.

Bishop Tunstall did not long survive his deprivation, as he died on November 18, 1559, less than two months afterwards. It is said [2] that "before his death he declared his judgement

[1] Anthony Wood attributed his refusal to his great age—his eighty-five years, vol. i, p. 127. "He had written formerly for the [king's] supremacy, so it was not that which caused him to leave his Bishoprick, but age."

[2] Archbishop Parker, *De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae*, pp. 551–2. London: 1729; Hook, *Life of Abp. Parker*, p. 542.

that the Pope's too far extended power ought to be restrained within his own diocese of Rome; letters to that purpose he had long before written to Reginald Pole, unto which mind he now returned again, after his compliance under Mary; and not above fourteen days before his death, while he lived with Matthew Parker, he testified to him and others those letters to be his. He also allowed of the Marriage of Priests." All this is quite consistent with the statement in "The Rites of Durham" that he "died a professed Catholic," if the writer understood the term "Catholic" as used by Tunstall in his letter to Reginald Pole or in his book, *De veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi in Eucharistia*[1].

He had desired in his will (proved January 30, 1559–60) to be buried before the crucifix or rood-loft in Durham Cathedral if he died in his diocese; or if he died in London, in St. Paul's Cathedral, where he had been Bishop, near Thomas Linacre (the founder of the College of Physicians), who had died in 1524, one of his dearest friends. He was, however, honourably laid to rest in the chancel of Lambeth Church, where he had been consecrated Bishop. The strong reformer, Alexander Nowell, preached his funeral sermon, and gave him great commendation. Walter Haddon, one of the Revisers of the Prayer-book, and Editor of the Latin version of 1560, for the use of the learned in England, and for the unlearned (in the English tongue) in Ireland, composed the epitaph inscribed on the black marble stone soon after placed upon his grave.

It told of England's sorrow for a great Churchman and Statesman, but as Sir Thomas More had said more than forty years before, "Who can praise aright Cuthbert Tunstall? a man doubtless out of comparison . . . of this man's

[1] Lutetiae, (Paris) ex officina Vascosani, 1554,—but completed in 1551, when 77 years old. This book was studied by Archbishop Cranmer when in prison, but Tunstall refused his request for a conference, saying "that Cranmer was more likely to shake him than be convinced by him." My copy is the original edition, and several extracts from it have been contributed to Canon Dixon's *History of the Church of England*, vol. v, pp. 187–8. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1902.

praise I will say nothing, not because I do fear that small credence shall be given to the testimony that cometh out of a friend's mouth: but because his virtue and learning be greater, and of more excellency, than that I am able to praise them[1]."

EPITAPH.

"Anglia Cuthbertum Tunstallum moesta requirit,
Cuius summa domi laus erat atque foris.
Rhetor, Arithmeticus, Iuris consultus et aequi,
Legatusque fuit; denique presul erat.
Annorum satur, et magnorum plenus honorum,
Vertitur in cineres aureus iste senex.
Vixit annos LXXXV. Obiit
18 Nov., MCCCCCLIX."

APPENDIX I.

In his book on the Holy Eucharist written in Edward's time, but published in the reign of Queen Mary, Tunstall writes:—

"From the beginning of the existence of the Church, nowhere did any Catholic admitted to baptism doubt concerning the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but every one before being admitted to the font of purification, professed that they believed this, having been so taught, as S. Justin Martyr witnesses in his Second Apology against the Heathen. But in what manner the bread (which was only common bread before consecration) passed into His Body by the unspeakable sanctification of the Spirit, all the most learned of the ancient deemed to be inscrutable, lest they, like the Capernaites, not believing Christ's words but enquiring how this could be done, should endeavour to be wise above what was fitting. But for them it was enough and more than enough, firmly to believe

[1] *Utopia*, Book i, by Sir Thomas More, 1516.

the words and almighty power of Christ, Who is faithful in all His words, and Who alone with the Father and the Holy Ghost, knows the mode of bringing about His marvels. Moreover, before Innocent the Third, the Bishop of Rome who presided in the Council in Lateran, there were three ways by which those who enquired more curiously about this matter, thought that it could take place. Some holding that Christ's Body was present along with the bread or in the bread, like fire in a mass of iron, which mode Luther seems to have adopted. Others that the bread was reduced to nothing or corrupted. Others that the substance of the bread is transmuted into the substance of the Body of Christ, which mode Innocent having adopted, rejected the others in that Council, although to those who enquired more closely into the matter, it seemed that not fewer, but rather more miracles were required in his than in the other modes which he rejected. But those who were present with Innocent at that Council deemed that all miracles should yield to the omnipotence of God to Whom nothing is impossible, inasmuch as that mode seemed to them best to agree with those words of Christ, 'This is My Body,' &c. For Joannes Scotus having recited Innocent's decree says, that 'there were three opinions; one, that the bread remains, and yet that along with it the Body of Christ truly is; another that the bread does not remain, and yet is not converted, but ceases to be, either by annihilation or by being resolved into matter, or by corruption into another thing; the third, that the bread is transubstantiated into the Body, and the wine into the Blood. But the object of each of these was to preserve this truth which is common to all, that the Body of Christ is truly there, because to deny this is simply contrary to the faith. For from the beginning of the institution of the Eucharist, it belonged expressly to the truth of the faith, that the Body of Christ was truly and really contained there.' So far Joannes Scotus, &c. But whether it would have been better to have imposed silence upon all curious persons, that they should not scrutinize the mode in which this is done, since the Lord's ways are past finding out, as did those ancient divines, who attempted not to seek out

things which are unsearchable, and who thought that God could easily effect a thing of which we are not able to investigate the manner. For S. Augustine writes to Volusianus saying; 'Let us grant that God can do a certain thing which we own that we cannot investigate; in such matters, the whole explanation of the deed is the power of the Doer,'—or whether it would have been preferable to leave all curious persons each to his own conjecture as to the mode in which it takes place, as before that Council it was free, provided he owned the truth of the Body and Blood of the Lord in the Eucharist; which was the very faith of the Church from the beginning—or whether perchance it was better to choose out of these three modes above mentioned that one which was most in accordance with the words of Christ, and to reject the other modes, lest otherwise among the too curious men of this age there should have been no end of contentions, since in that contentious age silence could not in any other way be imposed on curious tongues—I think it right that in such a matter the judgment of the Church be altogether observed, since she is the pillar of the truth."

APPENDIX II.

A Memorable Conversation.

"I have heard Anthony Carleton relate (and he was at that time in the bishop's [Tunstall's] house) that the bishop's chaplains at a certain time had some discourse with Gilpin about Luther: and that one of them had asked him what he thought of Luther and his writings. Gilpin confessed that he had not read the writings of Luther. 'I propounded unto myself' (said he) 'this course; first of all to search the Scriptures diligently, and to be acquainted with the expositions of the Fathers upon them. As for the writings of the Neoterics, I have only looked upon them: howbeit I refuse them not, when and where they agree with the ancients.' One of them commended Mr. Gilpin's resolution, and said,

'it would be well with the Church, if all men would duly respect the writings of the Fathers: for then the upstart opinions of late writers would not so much disturb the Church, such as are these of Luther.' But Gilpin answered, 'if Neoterics and late writers produce the opinions of the ancient Fathers, the novelty of the men is not to be disdained, but the antiquity of the doctrine is to be reverenced.'

They hereupon subtilely draw on Gilpin into a disputation concerning the Sacrament of the altar; propounding therein two questions, the one concerning the real presence, the other concerning transubstantiation. Touching the real presence Gilpin confessed that he had no very strong argument wherewith in his judgment he might oppose the real presence: For 'I suppose,' (saith he) 'that therein lieth hid a great mystery, such a one as is above my capacity; rather to be adored than disputed upon.' They asked then 'what he thought of transubstantiation?' He answered, 'that there was no necessity why we should believe those things which have no solid foundation in the Word of God.' 'Do you not then believe,' (said they) 'as the Church believes?' Gilpin replied that the Church had not always held that as an article of faith: 'I am (saith he) of the Catholic faith, and the Catholic faith changeth not. But in this point I see alterations such as the Catholic faith is not capable of.' They demanded what alterations in faith he had observed touching the sacrament of the altar. He replied: 'I do not find that in the Church in former ages, there was anything spoken or written about transubstantiation. Peter Lombard was either the first, or at least one of the first that brought in the alteration of the ancient faith. And what do yourselves think; is the bread in transubstantiation converted into the flesh and blood of Christ?' They answer, that they believe so absolutely. 'But,' saith Gilpin, 'Peter Lombard who was the first man that made an alteration of the faith of our forefathers in this point, himself did not believe as you do. For in his fourth book the eleventh-distinction, F. thus he hath it: *there is no transubstantiation but of bread into flesh, and wine into blood.* And if that be true, then doubtless it follows conse-

quently, that in the transubstantiation of the bread there is no blood. And now (saith he) how will you reconcile these things?' They stood at a stand, as having nothing to answer, because the words of Lombard plainly deny that in the transubstantiated bread can be any blood, or in the wine His flesh. Whom when Gilpin had observed to stagger in this point, 'Take notice now (saith he) of the immutability of the Catholic faith: we see the alteration of transubstantiation. For when Lombard had broached this doctrine, that there was a kind of change, he would have it none otherwise understood than thus: that the bread only should be changed into flesh, and the wine only into blood. Nor did men at that time dream of any other conversion in the Sacrament of the Altar, until the fiction of concomitancy was broached by Thomas Aquinas. He was a man that understood well the difficulty of this point, and therefore he underpropped it with concomitancy; that forsooth by reason of concomitancy there is both flesh and blood in the transubstantiated bread. But these are the inventions of later men, whereas the Catholic religion abhorreth invented alterations in matters of faith.' While they were holding this disputation without speaking aloud, because they were close at the Bishop's back, who at that time sat before the fire, for it was in the winter season; the Bishop leaned his chair somewhat backwards, and hearkened what they said. And when they had done speaking, the Bishop turning to his chaplains, useth these words, 'Father's soul[1], let him alone, for he hath more learning than you all[2].'"

[1] "Father's soul," a familiar word of Bishop Tunstall's.

[2] Life of Bernard Gilpin, by his kinsman and sometime scholar, George Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, written in Latin. The original Latin is to be found in *Vitae Selectorum aliquot Virorum*, by William Bates, and the old English translation, by W. Freak, is printed in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biography*, vol. iii. 367 to 433, 1839.

VI

STEPHEN GARDINER

BY

JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B.

LL.D., D.LITT.

STEPHEN GARDINER

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was a Churchman of so much importance in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary, that his career deserves more careful study than it has hitherto been possible to bestow upon it. The acts of his life are known to us mainly by what his enemies have said of them, and more recent writers, whether Protestant or Romanist, have found him a man somewhat difficult to appreciate. His learning and abilities are admitted by all; but in other respects men find little to say for him. Roman Catholics cannot look upon him as an unswerving hero of righteousness, and in the eyes of Protestants he is commonly a bigoted, intriguing, turbulent politician. To Reformers of his own day, indeed, he was an object of bitter hatred, and of course after his death, and especially when Elizabeth had become queen, they spoke their minds about him all the more freely. He was the "wily Winchester" of Foxe, the "Arch-persecutor of Christ's Church"; vainglorious, moreover, and arrogant, and "drowned in his own conceit." To darken the portrait further, in a later age the gossiping Fuller finds him to have been a deep dissembler, whose malice, like white powder, "surely discharged the bullet, yet made no report." In the seventeenth century some one discovered for the first time that he was bastard—which was really an ill-founded surmise. In the nineteenth, the best thing Froude had to say for him was that there was "something in his character not wholly execrable." Still, the lights and shades are not very well defined.

I cannot, of course, within the compass of an hour attempt anything like a full biography of the man. But I hope I may

be able within that time to present you with such a general account of his career and of his various activities as divine, ambassador, statesman, and scholar, as may at least serve to dissipate some errors. For I would fain clear the portrait of one who, though not without his faults, exhibited throughout a consistency and unity of purpose, together with an independence of mind rarely met with among his contemporaries. Of course he was a strong upholder of a theology which we repudiate. But we must remember that the doctrines which he upheld had been upheld till his day as beliefs of the very highest importance; and his intensely legal and logical character of mind could not possibly have regarded innovation in these matters as anything but injurious to the Christian faith itself.

To begin, let me say just one word about his birth, which has been the subject of a good deal of misrepresentation. That he was born at Bury St. Edmunds is undisputed, but the date 1483 commonly given must be a mistake—it may have been ten years later. It can be shown, moreover, nowadays, that he was the eldest son of one John Gardiner, a well-to-do cloth-merchant of Bury, who mentions him in his will[1]. He was educated at Cambridge, where he became Master of Trinity Hall in 1525, and he held that position for four and twenty years, until deprived of it by the revolutionary government of Edward VI. But early in life he had travelled abroad and visited Paris, where he met with Erasmus; and this must have been in the spring of 1511 when Erasmus stayed a short time at Paris on his way to England. Their meeting is referred to in a letter of Erasmus himself to Gardiner[2] written sixteen years later when Gardiner was again in France in 1527, he being then in attendance on Cardinal Wolsey; and this letter is so interesting that I may as well read the chief part of it to you in translation:—

"It was most agreeable to me, my dear Stephen, to have the memory of you refreshed by letters. There was no need of so many tokens. That image of you which I had seen at

[1] See Note 1, in Appendix.

[2] See Note 2, in Appendix.

Paris remained in my mind so vivid that I could now almost paint it in colours. I recognize the same intellectual dexterity in letters and in graver business as you showed at Paris in domestic matters. Nor were your letters more agreeable to me than at that time were the salads dressed by your art agreeable to my palate. I am glad to find that we have a common patron (Wolsey, of course), and it is a matter on which I congratulate both myself and you that I understand you are in high favour with him[1]."

This is a very early reminiscence, going back to a period when it may be doubted whether he had, as yet, begun his studies at Cambridge. Many years later, but perhaps not long after 1521, when he had become a doctor of both laws, Leland the antiquary commends him for accomplishments of a very different character; first for giving new freshness to the study of law, which he had redeemed from the obsolete pedantries of later writers, and secondly for putting on the stage the comedies of Plautus (or one of them at least), in which, it would seem, he himself took part as an actor[2]. We have an interesting reference to this also in an unpublished letter of Gardiner himself written to Sir William Paget[3], then Secretary of State, in 1545, in which he reminds him of their early dramatic performances, differing materially from the parts they were then playing in diplomatic life. "This is another manner of matter," he writes, "than when I played Periplectomenus, you Miliphippa, and my lord Chancellor (Wriothesley) Palestrio; and yet our parties be in this tragedy that now is in hand." From these words it is clear that the play in which he and Paget and Wriothesley had taken part as young men was the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus; and the very same play is referred to in the poetical encomium of Leland to which I have just alluded. So here we have some facts of his early career hitherto quite unnoticed. When little more than a boy he had captivated Erasmus in Paris—by other things, certainly, as well as by his skill in dressing salads; and later on he had given a fresh impetus to the study of law

[1] Epp. Lib. xxi, No. 57.

[2] See Note 3, in Appendix.

[3] See Note 4, in Appendix.

at Cambridge, and had instituted—at Cambridge also, doubtless—performances of the plays of Plautus.

I have said that Gardiner was in France in 1527 in Cardinal Wolsey's service; he was, in fact, the Cardinal's secretary. In that same year—indeed at that very time—Henry VIII was scheming to procure from Pope Clement VII a divorce from Katharine of Aragon with a dispensation also to marry Anne Boleyn. As to the divorce the King had made his object known to Wolsey, who, of course, was endeavouring to advance it to the utmost of his power. But he had not yet trusted Wolsey with his ultimate design, and was playing a deeper game behind the cardinal's back. He sent his secretary Knight to Rome to procure documents which should suffice for his purpose; and Knight, as he himself believed, had been successful, but the documents he procured turned out to be worthless. The King had to recur to Wolsey's advice, and early in 1528 Wolsey dispatched Gardiner to Rome, with Edward Foxe, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, to induce the Pope to send Cardinal Campeggio to England, armed with a very special document called a decretal Commission, to enable him and his brother cardinal, Wolsey, to hear the cause of the validity of the King's marriage with Katharine and to pronounce sentence. To procure this, Wolsey knew, would be a peculiarly difficult business; but it was the only way he saw of effecting the King's purpose, and he considered that if any man could accomplish it successfully it was Gardiner, whom he called *mei dimidium* in letters accrediting him to the Pope.

Gardiner displayed extraordinary energy in endeavouring to accomplish the task; but he was not successful. The sending of Campeggio was conceded with some difficulty, but the decretal Commission was persistently refused as a thing unusual and unwarranted. It was to be a Commission laying down the law on which the judges were to proceed, to enable them, when the facts were ascertained, to pronounce a sentence from which there need be no appeal; and it was further hoped to bind the Pope by private promise not to revoke the cause. The pretext for the decretal was that it

would save a long and tedious litigation, not likely to be ended in one generation; and when the Pope and Cardinals offered an ordinary Commission instead, it was clearly not the thing wanted. Gardiner exerted all his powers of argument, and by his own account used not a little bullying towards the Sacred College. Would the Pope and Cardinals, he said, really refuse such a very reasonable request? If so, people would say that they either could not, or would not, show the wanderer his way. The King asked for nothing but justice, and if they could not define what justice was in the case, they would add force to the sarcasms of those who thought pontifical laws not clear to the Pope himself might as well be committed to the flames. But Gardiner, with all his ability, was defeated and obliged to be content that time with a general Commission, with which he sent Foxe into England, believing that it would prove sufficient in the form in which he had procured it, as there was a clause intended to exclude appeal.

The King and Anne Boleyn were delighted and believed that the point was gained; but Wolsey knew better, and though he highly commended Gardiner's energy, required him still to press for a decretal, he himself writing to the Pope some very special reasons why it should be granted in this case even if given secretly under solemn oath that it should be shown to no one but the King, and that it should not be used in the process. Clement, at length, unfortunately gave way and granted precisely what Wolsey asked for—a document to be shown, not to be used, which was to be destroyed as soon as it had served that purpose, while Campeggio and Wolsey might proceed to hear the cause by virtue of the general commission.

Gardiner returned from Rome in June, 1529, and the King was so pleased with what he had done for him that he took him out of Wolsey's service and made him his own secretary. Next month the Legatine Court was prorogued, and Gardiner's relations with his old master were reversed. Wolsey was now out of favour—at least with Anne Boleyn, who insisted on keeping him at a distance from the Court, and Gardiner, as

the King's secretary, became the medium of communication between him and Henry. It was to Gardiner now that the fallen Cardinal had to apply for any favour at the King's hand. And whether Gardiner really did his best for him it is not easy to say. Henry himself knew his obligations to Wolsey better than any man, and ought to have required, as he probably would have brooked, no prompting. But Henry's ingratitude and selfishness were extreme.

Gardiner was, of course, committed to advance the King's interests in the Divorce question, and early in 1530 he obtained, not without some manœuvring, a decision from the University of Cambridge against the lawfulness of marriage with a brother's widow. Next year he was rewarded by the King with the bishopric of Winchester. Of course the way he had earned this promotion is apparent. But we must not do him the injustice to suppose that he was one willing to go all lengths to please royalty. "When he gave me the bishopric of Winchester," wrote Gardiner himself after the King's death, "he said he had often *squared* with me, but he loved me never the worse [1]." The words were creditable, alike to the King and to Gardiner; for the King loved good counsel, and Gardiner was no sycophant. His services to the King were peculiarly those of a legal casuist, who told him what was feasible and what was not. The misfortune was that, so far as concerned the acts of his sovereign, legality seemed to constitute Gardiner's only standard of right and wrong. This, indeed, was the highest view that it was easy to uphold with such a king as Henry VIII. But it was a good deal to give honest advice, even from such a point of view. How much caution it required, and how well he could maintain his ground in this way is shown by another extract from his own words:—

"The lord Cromwell," he writes, "had once put in the King our Sovereign lord's head to take upon him to have his will and pleasure regarded for a law; for that, he said, was to be a very King; and thereupon I was called for at Hampton Court. And as the lord Cromwell was very stout, 'Come on,

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vi. 36 (Cattley's edition).

my lord of Winchester,' quoth he (for that conceit he had, whatsoever he talked with me, he knew ever as much as I, Greek or Latin, and all), 'Answer the King here,' quoth he; 'but speak plainly and directly and shrink not, man! Is not that,' quoth he, 'that pleaseth the King a law? Have ye not there in the civil laws,' quoth he, '*quod principi placuit*, and so forth? I have somewhat forgotten it now.' I stood still and wondered in my mind to what conclusion this should tend. The King saw me musing, and with earnest gentleness said, 'Answer him whether it be so or no.' I would not answer my lord Cromwell, but delivered my speech to the King, and told him, I had read indeed of Kings that had their will always received for a law; but I told him, the form of his reign, to make the laws his will, was more sure and quiet. 'And by this form of government be ye established,' quoth I; 'and it is agreeable with the nature of your people. If ye begin a new manner of policy, how it will frame no man can tell, and how this frameth ye can tell, and I would never advise your Grace to leave a certain for an uncertain.' The King turned his back, and left the matter after, till the lord Cromwell turned the cat in the pan afore company; when he was angry with me and charged me as though I had played his part[1]."

Now, surely, if the characters of the two men given by contemporaries had not affected the judgement of later writers, we could not but sympathize here with Gardiner against the upholder of absolute government. Yet, curiously enough, those early writers who speak all evil of the wily Winchester have nothing but praise for the government of Cromwell, even in his most arbitrary acts, and for the "godly" or, as it may be, the "politic" proceedings of the King his master. The reason, of course, is that Cromwell, with Henry's aid, began a violent revolution in the Church, which the factions under Edward VI carried considerably further; and despotic power was the means by which it was effected. To that revolution Gardiner as a Churchman was entirely opposed, though he was obliged to submit to it; and he lent his active aid to the Bishops in preparing "The Answer of the Ordinaries" to the complaints of the Commons, though he could not but be aware that those complaints really proceeded from the King

[1] Foxe, vi. 45, 46.

himself. In fact, he had to write a letter to justify himself against the King's displeasure; and though ill, and very uncomfortable in consequence, he wrote in a tone of perfect manliness.

It is true that three years later he was obliged to modify his tone. By that time the autonomy of the Church had been actually destroyed, the Pope's authority had been extinguished, and the Act of Supremacy passed by Parliament, pressed home with relentless severity, had sent More and Fisher to the block after inflicting on Reynolds and the Carthusian martyrs the horrid death which the law awarded to traitors. It seemed needless to maintain papal authority any longer, when no one could do it with a safe skin. Nay, surely it might be said, and I think it might have been said truly, that as the Pope was utterly unable to protect, or even to avenge, his saints, papal authority had in fact ceased to be. This, perhaps, was what Gardiner really felt in those days when he acknowledged, in his treatise *de Vera Obedientia*, that he had been obliged to change his view as regards duty. But it was impossible to put it thus without declaring his master to be a tyrant. And the line he actually took in that remarkable "Oration," as he called it, was simply that the Church of England consisted of the same kind of people as the realm. How then could the King be head of the realm, and not head of the Church also? And how could he govern the realm except either by way of truth or by way of falsehood? It was impossible to restrict the duty of a prince to things of a mere secular character. The care of religion was entrusted to the Prince not less than the care of government.

So much Gardiner felt bound to concede, or thought himself justified in conceding, during the reign of Henry VIII. And though it was, I think, not an untrue argument in the abstract, he expressed afterwards, in Mary's time, much regret at having used it. For surely an abstract truth may be maintained in such a way as to condone acts of the most serious wrong, and the thought must have pressed rather heavily upon Gardiner that he had made himself the apologist of tyranny. This, indeed, he did also in a far worse way;

for, odious as the task must have been to him, he actually drew up, at Henry's command, besides this treatise on Obedience, a vindication of the executions of More and Fisher in answer to a papal brief by which Paul III had intimated to different princes his intention of depriving Henry of his kingdom[1]. The composition of this answer certainly marks Gardiner's lowest point of subservience. There was no escaping from the iron tyranny of Henry VIII, and Gardiner felt bound, when called on, to do him service as an advocate, even in showing what could be said to palliate acts of cruelty and wrong. He could only say, of course, that they were legal; which was true, because they had been *made* legal.

To Henry, in fact, it was most important to have such a legally minded Bishop as Gardiner for his Councillor. To those who held the rule under Edward VI it was otherwise. To them Gardiner's legal mind was particularly objectionable, and he accordingly became the victim of the most arbitrary procedure. But King Henry had really a high regard for legality, and to him Gardiner was invaluable. He did not always like his advice; indeed it is probable that he disliked it very much at times, and that this was the ground of Paget's curious statement that Gardiner was the man whom King Henry "abhorred more than any man in his realm." But however unpalatable at times his counsels may have been, it is certain that the King attached a very high value to them, and employed him in various important functions to the very last year of his reign. It is true, he left him out of his will, and, if we may trust the statements of his enemies, he did so deliberately, saying that he could control him but that no one else could. "He is so wilful and contentious," his Majesty is reported to have said, "that you shall never be quiet if he be among you." This, however, it must be remembered, was only the pretext used by the Council of Edward VI for excluding him from their deliberations.

[1] See *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, vol. ix, Nos. 218, 442. Foxe, bishop of Hereford, who was dispatched into Germany at the time to engage the sympathies of the German princes in behalf of Henry against the Pope, was instructed to show them if necessary, "the effect of an answer made by the bishop of Winchester," a copy of which he took with him. Ib., No. 213 (p. 70).

That his influence with King Henry was very great, even to the last, is shown clearly by a fact recorded by Foxe, that in the last year of the reign, when he was abroad negotiating a new alliance with the Emperor, he thwarted a project of Cranmer to which the King had shown himself favourable, for the removal of crucifixes in churches and some other changes, warning him that such an act would make the alliance impossible. Cranmer, it is needless to say, was his chief adversary in religious matters; and, but for the King's protection it seems to be a fact that Gardiner was on the point, at one time, of getting him committed to the Tower. The story was related originally by Morice, Cranmer's secretary, and is very well known as dramatized by Shakespeare. Yet though Morice writes undoubtedly to engage our sympathies in behalf of Cranmer, it is clear from his own statement of the case that the Council had actually obtained the King's sanction for examining the Archbishop, and even for committing him to the Tower, at their discretion, when the King counterplotted them by sending for the Archbishop late at night and giving him his ring, by which they might understand that he had called the cause before himself[1].

Something of the same kind had already occurred in the year 1543 when a number of complaints were formulated against Cranmer by certain prebendaries of his own cathedral and some country gentlemen of Kent. The complainants certainly had the sympathy of Gardiner; but it really seemed in the earlier half of the year that the King himself was determined to eradicate heresy, even in the highest places, and men were told not to be afraid to accuse the Archbishop himself if he had encouraged false preaching. When, however, in the autumn, the complaints were formally laid before the King, the King referred the trial of their validity to Cranmer himself and others whom he should appoint. The result, of course, was a foregone conclusion; but "the Supreme Head" of the Church of England could not afford to allow his Archbishop to be ill spoken of.

Cranmer and Gardiner were certainly two opposites in

[1] See Nichols's *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camden Soc.), pp. 254–6.

Church matters; and yet the King had almost equal need of both of them. It was most important to Henry's political position, especially when he sought the alliance of the Emperor, to show that his orthodoxy in matters of the faith was in no way affected by his having disowned the Pope's authority. Gardiner was therefore more than once his chosen ambassador to Charles V. And there is one incident in connexion with this embassy which, though it has hitherto escaped the notice of historians, is really of extraordinary interest, both in political and religious history.

When in Germany in 1541, he had at first a cold reception from the Emperor's minister Granvelle, who complained of the King of England's conduct in defying papal authority and divorcing the Emperor's aunt. Yet the Emperor, he said, had offered several times to sue to the Pope for Henry's pardon, and the King had refused to be reconciled to the Holy See. No doubt, however, Granvelle said, this was due to his wicked minister Cromwell, who was now got rid of, and, if Henry would think better of it, the Emperor would even yet intercede for him at Rome. Gardiner was perplexed what to answer, for he admitted that Cromwell had been a source of much evil, but he could only say that it was a capital offence for any one in England to suggest reconciliation with the Pope. The interview, however, suggested very important considerations. Henry was then sadly in need of friends upon the Continent; and if the Emperor failed him when France and the Lutherans were alike disgusted with him, and his own subjects full of smothered indignation at many things, his throne would have been in serious peril. Granvelle, however, wrote to the Imperial ambassador in England to assure the King of the Emperor's willingness, if he would only return to Rome, to procure from the Pope complete absolution for his offences; and Henry was so sensible of the danger of entire isolation that he wrote to Gardiner to thank Granvelle for his offer to promote this result. Such a revocation of his past policy, no doubt, was a thing that the King could never really have been driven to except by dire necessity; and the necessity passed away. That it should have existed, or seemed to

exist, even for a moment, may no doubt surprise us moderns, who for ages have known nothing of a universal spiritual jurisdiction. But the fact is clear that, for a moment at least, the most wilful of European sovereigns actually contemplated the possibility of being driven for safety to retract the most momentous step that he had ever taken during his whole reign.

Time will not permit me to say much more of Gardiner's attitude as a Churchman. Although he had accepted royal supremacy he was always a persistent defender of old Church principles and doctrines, and Henry himself wished the world to believe that doctrine at least remained untouched by anything he had done. So strongly, indeed, did the King approve of Gardiner's zeal for orthodoxy that I have no doubt Foxe is right in telling us that the Bishop ventured to remonstrate once to his sovereign on what even Queen Katherine Parr had said in the hearing of both of them, and that only her explanation afterwards saved her from being committed to the Tower. The story was accepted as true by Parsons the Jesuit, who says it was the occasion of that horrible atrocity, the racking of Anne Askew; for it was suspected that she was in confederacy with some of the Queen's ladies to spread heretical books, and the torture was applied to draw from her the names of her supposed confederates. Gardiner, however, had nothing to do with this brutality. He was one of the Council, indeed, who at an earlier stage examined her, and in doing so, I take it, he sought to befriend her. He desired to talk with her in a plain and simple manner, but he found her so full of scriptural texts that he said she was a mere parrot, and he was obliged to desist from the attempt.

But now, you will say, what was Gardiner's attitude towards heretics? Was he not really a persecutor, as we are always told? If you take Foxe's word for it, of course there is no doubt on the subject. "He was always excellent good at the sucking of innocent blood," says the Martyrologist[1]. But party spirit was very bitter in those days, and I can balance Foxe's statement by very strong testimony of an

[1] Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (Cattley's ed.), v. 522.

opposite character. Meanwhile I would have you note that even Foxe himself does not mention a single specific instance of Gardiner causing a heretic to be burned; and what is more, I am assured by Mr. Baigent, that there is no record whatever on Gardiner's episcopal register of his having handed over one single heretic to the secular arm, either in the days of Henry VIII or in those of Mary[1]. Is not this extraordinary in the case of one charged with so much cruel feeling? There were heretics burned in Winchester diocese both during the time of his predecessor Fox and during that of his successor White. Their registers testify to the fact; but there is no such record against Gardiner while he was bishop. Moreover it is a positive fact that he protected some heretics, such as Ascham; also that he took much pains in attempting to save Frith by personal persuasion and argument, and that, if he did not ultimately save Barnes from the flames, it was simply because it was not in his power. For Barnes had twice been in danger already, and Gardiner had twice protected him and shown him great indulgence on his submission, for which he afterwards repaid him by a public insult, badly apologized for a little afterwards, and the matter was taken completely out of Gardiner's hands.

Truth, however, compels me to confess that, notwithstanding the absence of any record in Gardiner's register, he did hand some heretics over to the flames. In Wriothesley's chronicle we read that on May 3, 1540, "were three persons burnt without St. George's Bar in Southwark, in the highway, almost at Newington, for heresy against the Sacrament of the Altar. One was a groom to the Queen [Anne of Cleves] named Maundevild, a Frenchman born, another a painter, an Italian, and an Englishman." These burnings are also mentioned in a contemporary letter addressed to Bullinger by Richard Hilles, who remarks: "As these things took place in the diocese of Winchester, it was remarked by many persons that these men were brought to the stake by the procurement of the Bishop, just as he burned, shortly after, a crazed man of the name of Collins." So it seems that there were at least

[1] See Appendix, Note 5.

four heretics burned in Winchester diocese during Gardiner's episcopate. Let us note, however, that these exceptions occur all at the same period, and the period is significant. Cromwell's government had unquestionably encouraged a dreadful amount of irreverence for sacred things, and Cromwell was now tottering to his fall. The King saw that it was dangerous to continue his past policy, and Gardiner, who had long been excluded by Cromwell's influence from the Council, was now readmitted. Anne of Cleves, too, was tottering to *her* fall, though nobody knew it, and fiery Lutherans like Dr. Barnes only found out too late that they could no longer be insolent with impunity. In the case of these four heretics Gardiner doubtless only felt compelled to do his duty when he handed them over to the secular arm. They were, there can be little doubt, irreverent men who had mistaken the signs of the times.

The truth is, Gardiner was not a persecutor but a victim of persecution, and the party which imprisoned him without law or justice under Edward VI and then deprived him of his bishopric were anxious to give him a bad name to colour their own misdeeds. The only way in which he can be said to have taken any part in the Marian persecution was as Lord Chancellor, when, after the heresy acts had been revived by Parliament, it was his duty to summon the imprisoned preachers before him and examine them to see if they would conform to the restored religion. And this he did apparently in a great spirit of gentleness. "How say ye," he asked Rogers, "are ye content to unite yourself to the faith of the Catholic Church *with us?*" He put himself among the men before him as one who had himself been carried away by the same evil influences of evil times, and assured them that past errors were now to be forgotten. Unluckily he could not induce many of them to do as he had done. But, as we learn from Foxe himself, after the condemnation of Hooper and the first batch of heretics, Gardiner had nothing more to do with the prosecutions[1].

I have shown, indeed, that, before Mary's time, he really had

[1] See Appendix, Note 6.

done in some cases what all other bishops did in the case of irreclaimable heretics. He handed them over, however unwillingly, to the civil power as men whom he could make no more of. He certainly did this in a few cases, and he died within the first year of the Marian persecution. Yet the fact that not one of the 277 heretics put to death under Mary suffered in Winchester diocese during his life must have been due, I think, largely to his personal influence and the respect generally felt for him preventing heretical outbreaks. For assuredly the bitter things said of him by pamphleteers did not represent the feelings of those who really knew him. "I verily believe," wrote Parsons in days when there were many alive who remembered him well, "that if a man should ask any good natured Protestant that lived in Queen Mary's time, and hath both wit to judge and indifferency to speak the truth without passion, he will confess that no one great man in that Government was further off from blood and bloodiness, or from cruelty and revenge, than Bishop Gardiner; who was known to be a most tender-hearted and mild man in that behalf; insomuch that it was sometimes and by some great personages objected him for no small fault, to be ever full of compassion in the office and charge that he then bare; yea, to him especially it was imputed that none of the greatest and most known Protestants in Queen Mary's reign . . . were ever called to account or put to trouble for religion[1]."

Parsons goes on to refer to individual instances of Gardiner's great humanity, especially his earnest intercession for the life of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, when under sentence for his audacious plot against Mary's succession. The Duke, though he had been Gardiner's enemy as well as Mary's (for he had been the chief cause of his unjust imprisonment and deprivation of his bishopric), asked leave to speak with Gardiner on matters touching his soul. This was opposed by some of the Council, knowing the Bishop's tenderness of heart; but at last it was conceded, another Councillor being sent with him to be present at the interview, who reported to

[1] Parsons's "Ward-worde," pp. 42, 43.

Parsons himself how deeply Gardiner was affected, shedding tears of compassion, and how he pleaded so earnestly with the Queen to spare his life that he had half gained her consent, but that the danger of showing mercy to such a flagrant offender was manifest, and the law was allowed to take its course [1].

Perhaps a word or two more may be desirable as to Gardiner's position and conduct under Queen Mary. We have seen what these were under Henry VIII and Edward VI. Under Mary it may be supposed that he was influential; and so, no doubt, he was. For, conscious that he had sincerely repented the part he had taken in promoting her mother's divorce, she at the very outset of her reign made him Lord Chancellor, and there was no one else within the kingdom whom she could really trust till the arrival, first of Philip, and afterwards of Pole as legate. But in one thing she did not trust even him, and that was about her marriage with Philip, which he opposed as far as he decently could, and which sycophants in the Council, like Paget, promoted in order to effect his ruin. Gardiner saw in it a serious national danger, and he was quite right. But when the Queen was resolved upon it, he took the greatest pains in drawing up the treaty, to prevent the interests of England being in any way sacrificed to those of Spain; and the treaty, as drawn up by him, was made the model of that drawn up between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou in 1581. No one could have served his country better than Gardiner in that sad time. His death sensibly weakened Mary's throne. While the event was impending, Pole wrote that from the beginning of his illness religion and justice seemed to have lost their hold, and England was already degenerating. His personal influence might possibly even have mitigated to some extent the execution of the revived heresy laws and dissuaded some of the

[1] Parsons says that for fear of the Queen giving way to his intercession they got the Emperor in Flanders to write her a strong letter of expostulation. This, as Tytler remarks, must be erroneous, as there was no time between Northumberland's trial and execution to communicate with the Emperor. It is true, however, that the Emperor had already written to her to warn her against showing leniency to the leaders of the conspiracy against her.

victims from rushing on their fate. There is no doubt, at least, that his will to do so would never have been lacking.

Of his acts as a divine and a scholar I must be content to say but a word or two. Of such matters as his controversy with Cranmer about the Eucharist, it is not for me to speak. But, conservative as he was, he took part in one forward movement, in which it is much to be regretted that the results of his labours are unknown—the translation of the New Testament into English. When Tyndale's Testaments were burned in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1530 it was beginning to be felt that an authorized English Bible free from heretical corruptions would be desirable, and in 1534 the King was urged by Convocation to appoint fit persons to translate the Scriptures. A few months later, in June, 1535, Gardiner had contributed to this project by translating the Gospels of Luke and John. Other translations, however, engrossed attention—first, Coverdale's New Testament—a work which had been encouraged by Cromwell and was dedicated to Henry VIII, but which was simply ignored by the clergy. Then in 1537 appeared Matthew's Bible, which was largely Tyndale's, and in 1539 "the Great Bible" printed for Cromwell in France was forced upon the parish churches. After Cromwell's death this Bible was condemned by Convocation in 1542, and Committees were appointed to revise the translation, when Gardiner handed in a list of Latin words used in the Vulgate which he thought it would be well to retain in their Latin dress—"in sua natura," as he expressed it,—or else to render into English "quam accommodissime fieri possit."

Whether in this, as in other matters, Gardiner did not exhibit rather too much conservative spirit, I will not take upon myself to say. But I think that his action here was due to feelings which have influenced even the Revisers of our day, who have generally avoided altering familiar words and phrases where there was no real necessity. Bishop Westcott says that Gardiner's action brought the scheme to an end, for the result would have been a version such as the Rhemish one was afterwards; to avert which, the King, moved by Cranmer,

resolved to refer the translation to the Universities, and the Universities did nothing. This, I think, is not quite correct. The Universities, indeed, did nothing, because, so far as I can see, the King never fulfilled his pledge to lay the matter before them. Two days after that pledge was given he granted to Anthony Marler the sole right of printing the Bible for four years, and of course the printer did not wait for a revision. It was the King and Cranmer, not Gardiner, who brought the scheme to an end.

Another instance of Gardiner's conservatism which occurred about the same time has also, I think, been unduly criticized. As Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, his attention was called to the new mode of pronouncing Greek adopted by the ardent Cheke, then in his twenty-eighth year, with the support of his friend Thomas Smith, a man only six months his senior. Hitherto Greek had been taught with the pronunciation used by contemporary Greeks, and Cheke's attempt to restore the ancient pronunciation, though founded on deep research, was received with a ridicule which Gardiner considered not wholly undeserved. Gardiner did not deny that the modern pronunciation differed from the ancient, and he was aware that Erasmus also had started a theory of the old pronunciation not unlike Cheke's. But he took the plain common-sense view that a pronunciation in actual use had the advantage over a plausible, and after all, perhaps, doubtful revival of one that had never been heard by men of that day till a forced attempt was made to restore it. And this attempt was a danger to good order and discipline by weakening the authority of older scholars over younger ones. After a friendly but ineffectual remonstrance with Cheke, Gardiner as Chancellor issued a decree against the innovation on May 15, 1542. Cheke obeyed, but only under protest, and for months he and Smith kept up a correspondence with the Bishop which the latter finally closed on October 2, by a refusal to annul his decree. Thus for some years the matter was settled. But, of course, under Edward VI Cheke had his own way; and successors of the same school carried on the supposed improvement in later times. But by some process

of degeneration the modern academic pronunciation has since become utterly unlike what either the first sixteenth-century reformers approved, or what Greeks in any age have been accustomed to use. Surely the result justifies Gardiner in his desire to let well alone.

It has been unfortunate for Gardiner's memory that no positive work of his doing remained to perpetuate his name. All his efforts were bent to stem a revolutionary torrent, which after all had its course. Men of that kind are apt to be looked back upon as if they had lived in vain. The triumphant cause too often covers its opponents with unmerited shame. All the more so, when its opponents have been men of consistent purpose, animated simply by a painstaking sense of duty. Noisy controversialists may win a sort of glory even when they have done little for human progress. But a man who in a revolutionary time brings great learning and abilities to the service of his country merely to avert lawlessness and anarchy, leaves no apparent claim to the gratitude of posterity. His life becomes a riddle for historians to elucidate.

APPENDIX

Note 1. See Page 170.

We learn from the unquestioned authority of Bale that Gardiner was born at Bury St. Edmunds; and there seems to be no doubt that his father was John Gardiner, a cloth merchant of that town, whose will, printed in the *Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Archaeological Institute*, vol. 1, p. 329. is cited by Mr. C. H. Cooper, in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1855. It is dated at Bury St. Edmunds, January 18, 1506 (which means 1507 of our computation). It shows a special interest in St. James's Church. It bequeaths, "to Stevyn, my son, when he cometh to the full age of twenty-one years, a silver salt with a covertill, parcelgilt, weighing thirteen ounces, one maser with three feet silver and gilt, six silver spoons knopped with lions, weighing together seven ounces and a half"; £4 to be paid him "by Agnes my wife when he shall take commencement in the School at the university." There are also bequests to Rose "my daughter" when she is made nun; to Joan "my daughter" when she comes to the full age of twenty; to John Gardiner "my son" when he comes to the full age of twenty-one years, £20 and two stalls in the market, one let to Thomas Chesteyn and the other to Thomas Mumyngs. And John is to have, after decease "of Agnes my wife" my iron beam with the scales thereto, and six leaden weights, weighing together 300 quarters; also, when he comes of age, one featherbed, one bolster, one coverlet, one pair blankets and one pair sheets, and two pair of my shermen's shears next the best:—Agnes my wife meanwhile "to have the occupying of the same shears." To William, my son, ten marks, to be paid after my decease: "Item, I bequeath to the same William, one broad loom and two narrow looms. Item, I bequeath to the said William two tenements with one garden lying on Sparrow Hill in Bury aforesaid that I hold of St. Nicholas."

From this will I am inclined to suspect that John Gardiner was twice married, and that Stephen was his eldest son by Agnes his second wife, who was living at the time the will was made; that Stephen, though not then of age, was already intended for the Church, and that John, a younger son, was meant to succeed to his father's business. Another son, William, whose age is not specified, is likely to have been the son of a former wife, and to have already set up for himself in the same line as his father. As regards the daughters, the bequests point to similar arrangements for the future. One daughter Rose, is destined to be a nun; but a second Joan, who is under twenty (probably by some years) is evidently regarded as marriageable.

Note 2. See Page 170.

Since this article was in type Gardiner's own letter, to which that of Erasmus is a reply, has been discovered at Breslau, and a translation of it is given by Mr. Nichols in his very valuable work *The Epistles of Erasmus*, vol. ii. 12, 13. By this it appears that Gardiner's meeting with the great scholar took place about sixteen years before, that is to say in 1511, the time

when Erasmus first published his *Moria*. He asks Erasmus if he remembers at that time "an Englishman named Eden who lived in the street of St. John," and whether he further remembers in Eden's household a lad whom he ordered daily to dress him a dish of lettuce cooked with butter and sour wine, which he declared was more daintily served by that lad than it was anywhere else. That lad was himself, Stephen Gardiner.

The publication of this letter reveals a new fact in Gardiner's biography, and disposes of some idle surmises which have taken the place of facts, as *e.g.* that he travelled abroad with the Duke of Norfolk's children—or *a* Duke of Norfolk's children,—a difficult theory to chronologize at any rate. The Mr. Eden in whose household he was staying is not unlikely to have been Richard Eden, who on Oct. 21, 1512 (having by that time come home) was appointed Clerk of the King's Council. No doubt, after the fashion of the times, Gardiner's wealthy father placed the young lad in service with a man of good position, and in this case with the additional advantage of enabling him to see Paris, probably to study there. Moreover, the friendship of Eden, as Clerk of the Council, may well have had an important effect in enabling Gardiner to understand public affairs.

NOTE 3. SEE PAGE 171.

In Leland's *Encomia*, pp. 48, 49, there is one addressed to Gardiner, in which occur the following lines :—

"Tu certe innumeris locis ad illum
Leges vel veterem labore grato
Splendorem revocas, docens vieta
Tot glossemata (opus recentiorum
Scriptorum) ingeniis bonis obesse.
Hinc monstras, Cicero ut parens Latini
Sermonis veterum recepta iura
Orando insinuet, polita lingua et
Ut causas placide statim serenet.
Tu Plauti quoque fabulas poetae
Antiqui lepidas quidem et venustas
Illas, conspicuo decore quodam
Foelix actor et eloquens, vel usque
Ad miracula, nunc suis theatris
Pulchre restituis, nitesque facto.
Miles lumina Gloriosus ille
Sic certo mea capta detinebat,
Ut dum vixero, semper actionem
Illam vel memori sinu recondam.
Partes praestitit *Hancuinus* amplas,
Achinus quoque tunc suae decorum
Personae exhibuit : sed unus ille
Fabrilegus erat puellus instar
Multorum lepidus, venustus, ardens,
Cuius gloria crescet undecumque."

It is much to be wished that we could identify *Hancuinus*, *Achinus*, and the witty boy *Fabrilegus*.

NOTE 4. SEE PAGE 171.

The letter referred to is dated from Bruges, on November 13. The writer observes that they are at war with France and Scotland, are opposed to the Pope and have made the Landgrave think they are angry with him while the French were offering a miserable and dangerous peace requiring the surrender of Boulogne and to leave the Scots free from molestation, only for a little money not paid but promised. "This is another manner of matter" &c.

NOTE 5. SEE PAGE 181.

It is true that, though Foxe does not mention a single case of Gardiner having caused a heretic to be burned, he does insinuate in one case that Gardiner committed a murder! Let his very words be quoted :—

"Coming now to the year of our Lord 1546, first passing over the priest, whose name was Saxy, who was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, *and that, as is supposed, not without the consent of the said bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation*"; &c. (Foxe, Cattley's ed., v. 530.)

Here Foxe, it will be observed, does not take upon himself the responsibility of stating as a fact what he clearly wishes the reader to believe. It was "supposed" that the man was hanged with Bishop Gardiner's consent—for what reason is not stated, except that he was found hanged in Bishop Gardiner's porter's lodge. But what was the object of the murder? The Bishop, it seems, had accomplices in a "secret conspiracy," and "that bloody generation" had not opportunities enough (if it was a case of heresy) of burning men openly and before all the world, but it must strangle one poor wretch in a porter's lodge as well! The idea that it *might* have been a case of suicide, of course, was not to be thought of. The reader, moreover, is expected to regard murder—or connivance at murder—by a prominent bishop in "that bloody generation" as a thing so evidently credible in itself, that it may be suggested in a parenthesis, as a mere detail not worth dwelling upon, still less investigating to prove its truth or falsehood!

NOTE 6. SEE PAGE 182.

Again it is important to note Foxe's manner of stating a fact. When he has to admit that, after the proceedings against Hooper and the first batch of heretics, Gardiner had nothing more to do with such prosecutions, what he says is this :—"Stephen Gardiner, seeing thus his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner, Bishop of London." Foxe (Cattley's ed.), vi. 704. Of course Foxe could not think of attributing natural humanity to any bishop of the old school. He can only credit Gardiner with disappointment and disgust that his first cruelty did not produce a deeper impression.

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